MEMORY
AND THE MIDDLE AGES

Boston College Museum of Art

MEMORY
AND THE MIDDLE AGES

Edited by Nancy Netzer and Virginia Reinburg

BOSTON COLLEGE MUSEUM OF ART
February 17- May 21, 1995

Copyright © 1995
by the Boston College Museum of Art,
Chestnut Hill, MA

Library of Congress Catalogue Card
Number 94-74254
ISBN 0-9640153-2-3

This publication is supported by Boston College and a grant from the National Endowment for the Arts, a Federal Agency, with additional contributions from the Boston College Graduate School of Arts and Sciences and Neil E. Phillips.

Printed by Aldus Press

Designed by Anne Callahan, kor group

Photographs have been provided courtesy of the following:

The Bennington Museum, nos. 77, 79, 80

Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, figs. 16, 20

C.D. Arnold Collection, Division of Drawings and Archives, Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library, Columbia University in the City of New York, no. 91

Syndics of Cambridge University Library, fig. 12

The Cleveland Museum of Art, nos. 15, 20

Detroit Institute of Arts, no. 22

Dumbarton Oaks Collection, Washington, D.C., nos. 9, 12, 13

Dwayne Carpenter, figs. 17,19

Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, figs. 7, 8

Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University Art Museums, nos. 8, 27, fig. 14

Collection of the J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, California, fig. 6

Department of Printing and Graphic Arts, The Houghton Library, Harvard University, no. 34

Illuminations, nos. 23, 38

Institut Royal du Patrimoine Artistique, Brussels, fig. 3

Jewish Theological Seminary, photographer Suzanne Kaufman, nos. 39-43, 47-49

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, nos. 1, 7, 11, 16, 17, 19, 35, 52, 54a-b, 63-68, figs. 1, 10, 11, 24-27, front cover

The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, nos. 37, 51a-c, 62a-b, 69, figs. 4, 21-23, 29

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, nos. 4, 5, 71, 75, 78, 83a-c, 87, fig. 32

Museum of London, fig. 13

Sharon and Neil Phillips/Phillips Family Collection, photographer Bruce White, nos. 18, 30-32, 55-61

Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid, fig. 18

New Haven Colony Historical Society, no. 74a

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, no. 45, back cover

James Harrison Dakin Collection, Louisiana Division, New Orleans Public Library, no. 84

Board of Trustees, National Gallery of Art, Washington, no. 28, figs. 2, 15

Old Sturbridge Village, photo by Henry B. Peach, nos. 70, 76

Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto, no. 26

Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, MA, photographer Mark Sexton, nos. 72, 73, 81, 85, 86

Peabody Museum, Harvard University, photograph by Hillel Burger, nos. 88-90

Philadelphia Museum of Art, fig. 33

Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, no. 82, photograph by George Collins Cox, fig. 36, photograph by N.L. Stebbins, fig. 38

Smith College Museum of Art, Northampton, Massachusetts, no. 36

Trinity College Library, Cambridge University, fig. 9

Victoria and Albert Museum, London, fig. 5

Stephen Vedder, Boston College Audio-Visual Services, nos. 24, 33, fig. 31

Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, nos. 14, 21, 53, fig. 28

Davis Museum and Cultural Center, Wellesley College, nos. 2, 3

Whitney Library of Design, photographer Frederick L. Hamilton, fig. 34

Worcester Art Museum, Worcester, MA, no. 10

This exhibition was organized by the Boston College Museum of Art with partial support from the National Endowment for the Arts, a Federal Agency and an indemnity from the Federal Council on the Arts and Humanities.

front cover

Arm Reliquary of St. Valentine
Switzerland, late 14th century
gilding on silver
Metropolitan Museum of Art,
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan,
1917, acc. no. 17.190.351

back cover

Frontispiece to Joshua
Hebrew Bible
Central Italy, early 16th century
manuscript on vellum
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale,
Ms Hebr. 15, fol. 137v.

Table of Contents

Preface 4
Nancy Netzer

Introduction 5
Virginia Reinburg and Nancy Netzer

Modes of Remembering the Classical Past 7
Nancy Netzer, Department of Fine Arts, Boston College

Remembering the Saints 17
Virginia Reinburg, Department of History, Boston College

Unde et Memores, Domine: 33
Memory and the Mass of St. Gregory
Patricia DeLeeuw, Department of Theology, Boston College

"The Captivity of Jerusalem that is in Sepharad": 43
Alienation, Exile, and Memory in Sephardic Spain
Dwayne Carpenter, Department of Romance Languages, Boston College

Reinventing Arthurian History: 57
Lancelot and the Vulgate Cycle
Matilda Tomaryn Bruckner, Department of Romance Languages, Boston College

Nineteenth-Century New England's Memory 77
of the Middle Ages
Robin Fleming, Department of History, Boston College

The Film "Sorceress": A Twentieth-Century 93
Re-creation of a Medieval Memory
Pamela Berger, Department of Fine Arts, Boston College

List of Objects in the Exhibition 100

Preface

Lenders to the Exhibition

Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto

Bennington Museum

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

Burns Library, Boston College

Cleveland Museum of Art

Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library, Columbia University

Davis Museum and Cultural Center, Wellesley College

Detroit Institute of Arts

Dumbarton Oaks Collection

Harvard University Art Museums

Houghton Library, Harvard University

Illuminations, Chicago

Jewish Theological Seminary, New York

Mr. and Mrs. Steven H. Levin, New York

Metropolitan Museum of Art

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

National Gallery of Art, Washington

New Haven Colony Historical Society

New Orleans Public Library

Nuffler Foundation Collection

Old Sturbridge Village

Peabody Museum, Harvard University

Sharon and Neil Phillips/Phillips Family Collection, New York

The Pierpont Morgan Library

Peabody Essex Museum, Salem

Private Collections

Smith College Museum of Art

Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities

Walters Art Gallery

Worcester Art Museum

The Boston College Museum of Art is pleased to present *Memory and the Middle Ages,* the first exhibition to examine the many ways in which memory played an integral part in the formulation of images and thought in the middle ages, as well as in the neo-medieval movements in New England during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The exhibition has been planned to coincide with the international meeting of the Medieval Academy of America in April 1995. The successful completion of a large exhibition and catalogue like this one depends on the dedication, collaboration, cooperation, and vision of many. Perhaps no more so than on the curators, Pamela Berger, Matilda Tomaryn Bruckner, Dwayne Carpenter, Patricia DeLeeuw, Robin Fleming, and Virginia Reinburg, professors in various disciplines at Boston College whose scholarship informs this exhibition and publication.

Jennifer Grinnell, the Museum's exhibition coordinator, was indefatigable in coordinating the curators' efforts, arranging for loans and photographs, preparing the catalogue for publication, and reading the texts with extraordinary care. The successful completion of this endeavor is in no small part due to her precision, intelligence and good humor. We are also grateful to Alston Conley, the Museum's curator, who designed the installation with great skill and imagination. Helen Swartz, the Museum's administrator, as always, helped this project, as did our interns, Kerry Leonard and Jennifer Scuro. Marilyn Heskett, as conservator, made many helpful suggestions concerning the display of objects, and Stephen Vedder and his staff aided with photography.

The catalogue benefited greatly from the discerning eye of its co-editor Virginia Reinburg and from suggestions made by Matilda Bruckner on several of the essays. We are indebted as well to our intuitive and skilled copy editor, Naomi Rosenberg, to our careful proofreader, Mark Stansbury, and to our innovative designer, Anne Callahan.

Special thanks are extended to the lenders and to the following individuals who helped to make this exhibition possible: Susan Boyd and Stephen Zwirn (Dumbarton Oaks Collection); William Wixom, Charles Little, Barbara Boehm, Stuart Pyhrr, Minora Pacheo, Christine Brennan, Deanna Cross, Marceline McKee, and Trine Vanderwall (Metropolitan Museum of Art); Gary Vikan, Jennifer Cowan, and Maria LaLima (Walters Art Gallery); William Voelkle, Roger Wieck, and Marilyn Paul-Mary (The Pierpont Morgan Library); Cornelius Vermeule, Clifford Ackley, Sue Reed, Anne Poulet, Jonathan Fairbanks, Jeanine Falino, Linda Foss, Susan Odell Walker, Rebecca Reed, Patricia Loiko, Kim Paschko, and Karen Otis (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston); Glenn Lowry, Sherry Phillips, and Martha Kelleher (Art Gallery of Ontario); Ruth Levin (Bennington Museum); François Avril, Michel Garel, and Andrée Pouderoux (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris); Margaret Morgan Grasselli, Alan Shestack, Andrew Robison, and Sara Sibbald (National Gallery of Art); Christopher de Hamel (Sotheby's); Robert Bergman, Stephen Fliegel, and Andrea Bour (Cleveland Museum of Art); Susan Taylor, Lisa McDermott, and John Rossetti (Davis Museum and Cultural Center); Robert O'Neill and John Atteberry (Burns Library); Peter Barnet and Alan Darr (Detroit Institute of Arts); Paula Richter (Peabody Essex Museum); Alice Wehlihan (Federal Council on the Arts); Christian Delacampagne (Consulate of France); James Cuno, Jane Montgomery, Marjorie Cohn, Ada Bortoluzzi, Maureen Donovan, and Elizabeth Gombosi (Harvard University Art Museums); Ann Anninger, Richard Wendorf, and Margaret Smith (Houghton Library); Sandra Hindman (Illuminations); Mayer Rabinowitz, Jerry Schwarzbard, and Marcia Slotnick (Jewish Theological Seminary); Ben Glenn II (National Endowment for the Arts); Amy Trout and Vicki Chirco (New Haven Colony Historical Society); Wayne Everard (New Orleans Public Library); Frank White and Donna Baron (Old Sturbridge Village); Viva Fisher (Peabody Museum); Suzannah Fabing, Louise Laplante, Michael Goodison, Linda Muehlig, and David Dempsey (Smith College Museum); Lorna Condon (Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities); James Welu, Joan-Elisabeth Reid, Susan Strickler, and John Reynolds (Worcester Art Museum); Christina Ceulemans (Institut Royal du Patrimoine); Steven H. Levin and Neil Phillips.

As always, the enthusiastic support of the administration of Boston College, especially J. Donald Monan, S.J. (President), Margaret Dwyer (Vice-President), William B. Neenan, S.J. (Academic Vice-President), J. Robert Barth, S.J. (Dean), Richard Spinello (Associate Dean), Katharine Hastings (Assistant to the Academic Vice-President), William Bagley (Development), Joanne Scibilia (Associate Director of Research Administration) and the Friends of the Boston College Museum of Art, chaired by Nancy and John Joyce, have been invaluable. Finally, without the generous support of the National Endowment for the Arts, a Federal Agency, an indemnity provided by the Federal Council on the Arts, and donations from Neil Phillips and the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences at Boston College, this endeavor would not have been possible.

Nancy Netzer
Director

Introduction

The idea for this exhibition was born in discussions among members of the Medieval Forum at Boston College, a colloquium organized several years ago by professors from various fields specializing in the medieval period. Medieval studies has a distinguished history at Boston College, and its Medieval Forum builds on a tradition of interdisciplinary exchange and enthusiasm among scholars of medieval philosophy, theology, literature, history, and art. Our wish to enhance interdisciplinary dialogue, making use of Boston College's rich resources in this area, led us to organize colloquia on teaching and research, guest lectures by visiting scholars, and now this exhibition in the University's Museum of Art. The exhibition has been scheduled to coincide with the international meeting of the Medieval Academy in Boston, for which Boston College will serve as host for one day. The objects and issues explored in the exhibition provide tangible evidence for the recurrent theme of memory to be examined throughout the conference. In 1966 the distinguished Renaissance historian Frances A. Yates called memory "an immensely rich field for research, needing the collaboration of specialists in many disciplines."[1] We offer this exhibition and catalogue in the hope of advancing the discussion of memory among our colleagues in the "many disciplines."

This is the first exhibition devoted to the theme of memory and medieval culture, with special attention to the role visual images played in evoking and fixing memories. The seven contributors to the catalogue and curators of the exhibition have chosen topics related to medieval thought about memory as expressed in literature, history, art history, and religion. The essays are not meant as a complete treatment of the role of memory in medieval culture, nor do they exhaust the many possible methods and avenues of research to be pursued. Rather they are to be viewed as a selection of some of the key roles that memory played in shaping the visual culture of the middle ages and of the various ways in which medieval images served as repositories of memory.

Despite the diversity of subjects and approaches, the contributors all discuss two aspects of memory: collective or cultural memory, and the relationship between memory and images. Both provide particularly appropriate avenues for understanding medieval culture, for images and collective memory were questions explored in classical and Judeo-Christian thought. As the classical tradition gradually blended with the Judeo-Christian tradition, a uniquely medieval notion of memory emerged incorporating aspects of both.

Specifically, the classical world offered a rich legacy of thought about memory. Memory interested Plato, Aristotle, and other ancient philosophers, and they discussed the means whereby the mind stores experiences and perceptions. Plato considered the process of learning to be recollection, and for him recollection involved "the seeing of internal pictures."[2] Although Aristotle departed somewhat from Plato's concept of learning as recollection, he considered memory to be part of cognition. According to Aristotle, the senses inscribe experiences on the memory as a signet-ring does on sealing wax; specific memories created in this way take the form of mental pictures or images. As he wrote, "memory, even the memory of objects of thought, is not without an image." He also noted that memory is always of the past, and that only animals that perceive time can remember.[3] Although both Plato and Aristotle said more about memory and recollection than we can discuss here, the classical notion that memory preserves the past by means of imagery provided a rich legacy for medieval and modern reflection about memory.

Arts of memory practiced in antiquity, the middle ages, and the Renaissance were rooted in the notion that the memory stores perceptions and experiences as images.[4] The anonymous Greek author of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (c. 80 B.C.E.) constructed an elaborate memory system according to which one recalled ideas by assigning them to specific visual images or architectural settings. In manuals of oratory inspired by the *Ad Herennium*, Cicero and Quintilian advised readers to retrieve ideas by visiting places or recalling images to which they had systematically linked those ideas. The memory here is not only a wax tablet, but also a place, usually a treasury (*thesaurus*) or storehouse. For Augustine of Hippo, the memory was "a cloister," "a spacious palace, a storehouse for countless images of all kinds which are conveyed to it by the senses."[5] Augustine described movingly the past experiences memory made available: "the great treasure house of the memory" contains colors, melodies, and sensations "ready at my summons." In the *Confessions*, Augustine forged together the classical art of memory with memory as a form of personal and collective recollection. In memory "I meet myself," he wrote.[6] Memory preserved the past, either a personal past or a collective one, and made it available for present use.

Classical thought left a rich legacy, especially about the role of images in preserving memory and the past. But it was Judaism and Christianity that provided a compelling logic for collective remembrance. Both Judaism and Christianity have been described as "religions of remembrance," because both Hebrew and Christian Scriptures insist that remembrance is a fundamental religious duty. Jews heed God's message that "I formed you, you are My servant; O Israel, you will not be forgotten by Me" (Is. 44:21). For their part Christians follow Jesus Christ's command to "do this in remembrance of

Me" (Luke 22:19). Both commands to remember create a contract between God and the faithful servant. But remembrance is also a collective enterprise; religious community is rooted in memories of God's actions toward the group. Thus both Jews and Christians created liturgies memorializing historical events of special significance to their communities.[7] Although local and secular concerns also shaped collective memory, the influence of Jewish and Christian thought in constructing the culture of memory should not be underestimated.

Memory has recently been a topic of lively discussion among scholars in the humanities and social sciences. Historians and sociologists have studied the process of collective memory. Historians and literary scholars have addressed the relationship between history and memory in diverse cultures.[8] Medievalists have contributed richly to the study of memory in a variety of fields: literature, philosophy, and religious studies. The seven essays in this volume are connected by common threads in the recent scholarship on memory and the middle ages. Patricia DeLeeuw, Virginia Reinburg, and Dwayne Carpenter explore collective memories bearing religious meaning. DeLeeuw shows how paintings, sculptures, and prints of the *Mass of St. Gregory* preserved the rememorative drama of the mass by transmitting stories about Christ's Passion and St. Gregory the Great to late medieval Christians. Reinburg describes how medieval Christians remembered the saints and focused collective identity around them by honoring their earthly remains. Carpenter explains how Sephardic Jews—in Spain and in exile—remembered their collective past even as "strangers" in Christian society. Matilda Bruckner addresses collective remembering in a secular context. She shows how stories of Lancelot were encoded in popular memory and transmitted in text, image, and decorative objects. Nancy Netzer and Robin Fleming both address appropriation of a selectively remembered past. Netzer analyzes various methods by which medieval artists evoked memory of the classical past for various reasons. Fleming suggests why medieval history was useful to the nineteenth-century New Englanders who built and decorated their houses in neo-Romanesque and neo-Gothic style. Pamela Berger re-creates a specific medieval memory; in her essay she reflects on how as a medievalist in the twentieth century she translated a thirteenth-century peasant memory into film.

The contributors are pleased to present the results of their interdisciplinary collaboration in this exhibition and catalogue. We happily acknowledge the support and encouragement we have received from our colleagues and the administration of Boston College. We offer this volume as a tribute to the Rev. J. Donald Monan, S.J., president of Boston College and scholar of Aristotle's moral philosophy. In his commentary on Aristotle's *De memoria et reminiscentia*, Thomas Aquinas noted that we must "dwell with solicitude on and cleave with affection to the things we want to remember."[9] With this volume we want to remember how generously and enthusiastically Father Monan has supported humanistic scholarship and the Museum of Art at Boston College.

Virginia Reinburg
Nancy Netzer

Notes

We are grateful to Arthur Madigan, S. J. for his assistance with this introduction.

Frances A. Yates, *The Art of Memory* (London, 1966), p. 14.

See Richard Sorabji, *Aristotle on Memory* (Providence, 1972), pp. 5, 25, 35-39; Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 1990), p. 17.

Aristotle, *De Memoria et Reminiscentia*, in Sorabji, pp. 47-50 (see also pp. 81-83).

On the arts of memory see Carruthers; Yates; Jonathan Spence, *The Memory Palace of Matteo Ricci* (New York, 1984).

Augustine, *Confessions*, X.8 (trans. R. S. Pine-Coffin [London, 1961], pp. 215, 214). See also Carruthers, pp. 33-45.

Augustine, *Confessions*, X.8 (Pine-Coffin trans., p. 215).

On memory in Judaism and Christianity see Jacques Le Goff, *History and Memory* (New York, 1992), pp. 68-80; and Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi, *Zakhor: Jewish History and Jewish Memory* (Seattle, 1982).

See Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory* (Chicago, 1992); Pierre Nora, ed., *Les lieux de mémoire* (Paris, 1984-1992); Patrick Hutton, *History as an Art of Memory* (Hanover, NH, 1993); James Fentress and Chris Wickham, *Social Memory* (Oxford, 1992); the special issue of *Representations* (spring 1989); Susanne Küchler and Walter Melion, eds., *Images of Memory* (Washington, 1991); Janet Coleman, *Ancient and Medieval Memories* (Cambridge, 1992); Patrick J. Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium* (Princeton, 1994).

See Carruthers, p. 173; Coleman, chap. 20, esp. pp. 444-460.

Essays

Note to the reader

Numbered plates in this book are works in the exhibition. Additional plates are designated as "figures."

Abbreviated references are listed in full at the end of each essay.

Modes of Remembering the Classical Past

Nancy Netzer

"Memory is a glorious and admirable gift of nature by which we recall past things, we embrace present things, and we contemplate future things through their likeness to past things." So saying, the thirteenth-century Bolognese author, Boncompagno da Signa[1] provides a contemporary insight into some of the ways Christian artists of the middle ages may have viewed and used pagan imagery of the classical past.[2] In employing the visual language of antiquity, the medieval artist often recalls the past while confirming present Christian convictions. Implicit then in these medieval allusions to antiquity is a comparison between antiquity and the present. They reveal the classical past from the present. The question, therefore, is what did the medieval artist chose to remember, why, and how. Equally important, but too large an inquiry to entertain here, is what images of antiquity medieval artists remembered to forget, and why.

During the middle ages, the memory or recollection of Greco-Roman culture often served as a symbol of a better time. The survival and revival of images and styles, both figurative and ornamental, associated with the Greco-Roman world confirmed connections with the revered classical world. In the early years of Christianity, nostalgia stimulated the memory and encouraged the preservation of antique forms. Like all nostalgic forms, Greco-Roman imagery provided the power of associations with the past as well as an escape from the present, in this case, an escape from the collapse of Roman civilization and the difficulties of the present Christian society. As Christian civilization moved further from the pagan world and found itself on surer ground, pagan forms, whether figurative images or methods of ornamentation, lost their original meanings and survived as lingering traditions or simply as signs of high culture.[3] Ancient mythology and its gods and heroes, as will be shown below, were marginalized, lost much of their original meanings, and were exploited for new contexts, interpretations, and decorative possibilities.

In the ninth century, Carolingian emperors, beginning with Charlemagne, looked to classical civilization as well as to the Christian world of late antiquity in their efforts to re-establish the order and stability of the Roman Empire. To this end, Carolingian artists exploited the memory embodied in antique and early Christian works of art by copying aspects of their forms and illusionistic style.[4] From the end of the eleventh through the first few decades of the thirteenth century, termed by some as a "renaissance,"[5] artistic examples throughout Europe reveal the re-creation of many antique forms, styles, and techniques.[6] In the first half of the twelfth century, Rome, in particular, revived antique and early Christian artistic forms.[7] Finally, Gothic art, after the first quarter of the thirteenth century through the fifteenth, incorporates allusions to

no. 1

Casket
Rhineland or Meuse, 12th century components (19th century assemblage) gilded silver with inset gems over wood
Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917, acc. no. 17.190.404

antiquity in individual works, often, as will be shown in the last example below, at the initiation of the patron.

Mnemonic techniques employed for conjuring up comparisons between antiquity and the medieval present, which will be addressed here, differ even among contemporary objects and do not develop over the course of the middle ages. All, however, take fragments from ancient culture and cast them into forms relevant to the medieval present. The limitations of an exhibition preclude demonstrating the multiple roles that memory of antiquity played in medieval imagery. Still, using nine medieval objects that I procured for this exhibition, I shall isolate three principal modes of evoking remembrance of the classical past. The task will require some generalization, and I cannot hope to address all of the memories embodied in each object. Rather, I shall propose at least one that each work might have impressed on the medieval viewer.

The first, and in many respects the simplest, of the three modes is reuse, which occurs most often in the architectural elements of buildings and, on a smaller scale, in the insertion of carved gems and precious stones on jewelry, reliquaries, crosses, crosiers, book covers and other ecclesiastical objects. Whether the use of these relics, called *spolia*, bespeaks economic necessity, aesthetic appreciation, or even ostentation, their juxtaposition with medieval elements both recalled the past[8] and established connections between the present and the culture and traditions of antiquity. It is precisely the preservation of an antique unit, a synecdochic quotation from the past, that expresses reverence for its distant culture.

The single example of reuse in this exhibition is found on a silver casket from the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (no. 1). The casket, which, in its present form, is an assemblage of the nineteenth century, contains rectangular panels with filigree scrolls and inset gems, thirteen of which are antique,[9] from a Rhenish or Mosan casket or reliquary of the twelfth century.[10] The antique gems are a seemingly random mixture[11] ranging in date from the fourth century B.C. to the fourth century A.D. Most are engraved in intaglio or cameos either with classical figures including Venus, Dionysus, Ajax, Mercury, and Theseus or animals including an eagle-like bird, deer, dolphin, and lion. Although the twelfth-century viewer of the original object probably was unable to identify them all, some of the pagan motifs on the gems[12] would have been open to Christian interpretations (*interpretatio christiana*), allowing the observer to identify them with Old and New Testament figures. Venus, for example, may well have been interpreted by the medieval viewer as the Virgin.[13] In new settings, many ancient gems took on new meanings. To the extent that they evoked the memory of paganism, their application on this Christian object might have served as a reminder both of their magical properties as pagan amulets[14] and of the victory of Christianity over paganism. For the most part, however, the medieval eye would have admired their beauty, clar-

no. 2

Corinthian Capital
Rome, 350–470
marble
Davis Museum and Cultural Center, Wellesley College, Eliza Newkirk Rogers (Class of 1900) Fund, acc. no. 1949.28.1

no. 3

Corinthian Capital
Provence or Northern Italy, mid-12th century
limestone
Davis Museum and Cultural Center, Wellesley College, Eliza Newkirk Rogers (Class of 1900) Fund, acc. no. 1949.31.1

ity, and intricate execution. In recognizing their antiquity, the viewer would have been reminded of the unity and continuity between his world and a glorious past.[15]

The second mode for remembering the classical past, replication, involves an almost literal copying of antique forms. Unlike the reuse of *spolia*, re-creating required a deliberate effort and the close examination of an antique model. Often generated by historical forces like imperial patronage, replication is a traditionalistic gesture by which the artist chose to remember a specific image or type of object. It most often occurs in ornamental art on the borders of smaller objects like manuscripts and objects of ivory and metal[16] and on sculptured ornaments of buildings. Two Corinthian capitals, one a Roman example from late antiquity[17] (no. 2) and the other (no. 3) a finely carved example of the mid-twelfth century produced either in Provence or Northern Italy[18] demonstrate how accurately observed these medieval replications could be. The present Roman example with more simplified and less naturalistic acanthus, however, is later than that which must have served as the precise model for the Romanesque example. Indeed, the medieval capital formerly was mistaken as Roman, even though a flower emanates from the foliage, instead of the traditional rosette, and its drillwork, especially on the acanthus, appears more studied, controlled, and patterned than on Roman examples.

Such medieval revivalist capitals (and similar ornamental motifs, as well) usually decorate buildings of otherwise medieval design. Although, the architects remembered to forget the overall structures of antique buildings, these capitals probably would have been seen by the medieval viewer as venerated ancient forms. They would have evoked the memories of nearby ancient monuments, especially where they were prevalent, as in Italy and Provence (for example, in Nîmes, Arles, and Orange).[19] Juxtaposing old and new forms, reminded the medieval observer, as did the reuse of *spolia*, of historical continuity within the present Christian context.

The third, and by far most varied and complex, mode is reconfiguration. It either adopts antique compositions or styles and recasts them to suit Christian subjects, or the opposite, it adopts classical subjects and recasts them in medieval form and style. The best known examples are portraits of medieval authors (nos. 4 and 5), usually evangelists placed before their Gospels. They are probably the most common type of illustration in medieval manuscripts. Adapted from the Hellenistic tradition of using a portrait at the head of a book, the practice probably began in the earliest

fig. 1

Fragment of a Sarcophagus with a Man of Letters
Asia Minor, third quarter 3rd century
marble
Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, acc. no. 1918.18.08

no. 4

Portrait of the Evangelist Luke
Byzantium, early 13th century
tempera and gold on vellum
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Arthur Mason Knapp Fund, acc. no. 1919.118

no. 5

Portrait of St. Gregory
Flanders, late 10th century
tempera on vellum
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, William F. Warden Fund acc. no. 49.492

no. 6

Herakles Wrestling the Nemean Lion
Rome, c. 90 A.D.
stone
Nuffler Foundation Collection

Gospel Books,[20] in part, at least, in order to evoke the venerated classical author, a hero of antique intellectual culture, and, thus, to assert the authenticity of the Gospels. Such a mnemonic device, exploiting similarity, would have been especially convincing to new and potential converts to Christianity.

In their portraits, evangelists are usually seated. Albert Friend,[21] who categorized the portraits and suggested their origins, discovered that eight types of seated Evangelists recur in medieval Byzantine manuscripts. Moreover, Friend showed that they usually incorporated architectural backgrounds, a bench, a desk with writing implements and a lectern, and were based on seated statues (similar to fig. 1) of the philosophers (Plato, Aristotle, Zeno, and Epicurus) and poets (Euripides, Sophocles, Aristophanes, and Menander), which often decorated Roman theaters.[22] The traditional meditative poses of the more venerated apostles Matthew and John most closely imitate the Hellenistic Greek author statues, which never show the figure writing (writing being the work of the amanuensis). On the other hand, Mark and Luke, the disciples of the apostles, are shown writing their Gospels in poses adapted from the non-writing ancient philosophers.[23]

An early thirteenth-century leaf (no. 4) from a Byzantine Gospel Book, now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, shows a standard Byzantine representation of Luke, in which the figure, seated on a low bench with a footstool, faces a desk on the right. He has begun writing his Gospel in the codex upon his lap. Like the pagan philosophers and poets, he wears a tunic and pallium. Only his halo designates him as Christian. The archetype for this form of Evangelist would have had an elaborate classical architectural background [24] (not the present Roman arch), rendering the comparison to the ancient scholars more explicit. Visual recollections of classical men committed to otherworldly teaching, who wielded power and influence in the ancient world, would certainly have impressed upon the viewer the authority of the Evangelist and his writings.

Comparison to ancient authors was also implicit in representations of other Christian authors, like Pope Gregory the Great (c. 540-604). A late tenth-century Flemish leaf which once preceded the beginning of book twenty-eight of Gregory's *Commentaries on the Book of Job*,[25] shows Gregory in a pose similar to Luke's. Here, though, the artist has departed somewhat from the Evangelist archetype and turned Gregory's lower body to the front. Gregory pores over his manuscript

no. 7

David Slaying the Lion
Constantinople, 613-629/30 A.D.
silver
Metropolitan Museum of Art,
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
acc. no. 17.190.395

on the columnar lectern by his side; his feet rest on a stool in front of an angular niche-like structure with arches in the base. The architectonics of this niche suggest a faint, simplified, and probably unconscious memory of the Roman settings for Evangelist portraits in early Greek Gospel Books.[26] Although the figure of Gregory, no longer in the ancient tunic and pallium, is further removed from the classical author type, the form was clearly hallowed by tradition and not abandoned during the middle ages, in part at least because it recalled the sacred authority of the philosophers and poets of antiquity. Once again, the implied comparison between ancient and medieval emphasizes the power of historical continuity.

A second example of reconfiguration may be examined in the legacy of the pagan man, superman, and demigod Herakles, renowned for his feats of strength. Herakles could pass though the gates of Hades unscathed. This theme of rescue and resurrection had multiple applications within Christian culture. A savior larger than life and aided by supernatural force, Herakles was a popular figure in classical thought and figurative arts. As a result, images of his twelve labors were condensed over time to standard compositions.[27] His name became synonymous with strength, labor, challenge, and duty, and his life story spawned ethical interpretation among Stoics, Cynics, and Christians.[28] Classical art frequently depicted among his labors the strangling of the lion ravaging the countryside around Nemea in the Peloponnesus,[29] represented in this exhibition by the fragment of a Roman stone sculpture (no. 6) from about 90 A.D. Here, Herakles leans forward, squeezing the lion's head under his arm.[30] In some accounts, the lion could be subdued only in a wrestling match; in others, Herakles stunned the lion with his club and killed it with his sword. All agree that thereafter, Herakles wore the lion's pelt as his cloak.

Transcending the limitations of physical prowess, Herakles's feats paralleled those of David and Samson. It is not surprising that in representing these two Old Testament figures, medieval artists often recalled the compositional formulas used to depict the labors of Herakles. One of a set of nine plates embossed with scenes from the life of David (no. 7) provides a case in point. Stamps date the plates to the reign of the Byzantine emperor Heraclius (specifically to 613–629/30), and their style and quality suggest manufacture in an imperial workshop in Constantinople.[31] The scene shows the moment before David slays the lion with the club in his raised right hand (1 Samuel 17:34–35). His left hand grasps the lion's mane; his left knee is on the lion's back – an ad-

no. 8

Capital with Scenes from the Life of Samson
Avignon, 12th century
marble
Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University Art Museums, Gift of Meta and Paul J. Sachs, acc. no. 1922.132

no. 9

Cameo of Herakles and the Nemean Lion
Sicily, 1220–1240
sardonyx
Dumbarton Oaks Collection,
acc. no. 62.38

no. 10

Plaque with the Virtue Fortitude
Spain, early 16th century
alabaster
Worcester Art Museum,
Worcester, MA
acc. no. 1909.305

aptation of the pose often used to represent Herakles capturing the Cretan Bull.[32] Herakles's club and lionskin have become David's weapon and flowing cloak fastened over his right shoulder.

The naturalistic style of the figures and drapery, fashioned in "an effort to leap back across the centuries and recapture forms of the distant past,"[33] reinforces the visual allusions to the classical hero. Scholars have convincingly shown that episodes from the life of David on the silver plates were viewed as counterparts to the career of Heraclius, the upstart emperor and youthful warrior who overthrew the terrible Phocas.[34] Heraclius sought to equate his victory with that of the Old Testament monarch. Moreover, George of Pisidia, Heraclius's court poet, speaks of both the seventh-century Byzantine emperor Heraclius and his namesake, the pagan god Herakles, as conquering heroes.[35] Thus, Heraclius not only identifies himself with the pugnacious David, but by commissioning the artist to represent David in a style and pose that visually evoke the memory of Herakles, he also bolsters and glorifies his image.

The representation of Samson wrestling the lion of Timnath (Judges 14:5–6)[36] on a twelfth-century capital from Avignon[37] (no. 8) conveys a similar, somewhat faded memory. Samson, his leg wrapped around the lion's neck, rends the animal's jaws with both hands, as was often shown in antique depictions of Herakles and the Nemean lion. Like David on the seventh-century silver plate, Samson wears a cloak fastened over his right shoulder, recalling the Heraklean pelt. Although clearly in the linear Romanesque tradition, the style also shows a wealth of detail adapted from antiquity: clinging, fluttering drapery, more naturalistic musculature, and freer, less forced, facial expressions. The present Samson suggests a process of transforming Herakles into the Old Testament figure that probably took place centuries earlier. Although it is unclear whether the vestiges of the pagan hero's memory would have been recognizable either to artist or to viewer in the twelfth century, there is little doubt that this element, showing Samson's triumph over the lion, would remind the viewer of Christ's triumph over evil and his descent into limbo.

A cameo in the Dumbarton Oaks collection (no. 9) shows Herakles strangling the Nemean lion and standing on a dragon,[38] a more direct reference to antiquity. The cameo was produced in Sicily between about 1220 and 1240 for emperor Frederick II of Hohenstaufen (1194–1250). Frederick amassed a large collection of antiquities including intaglios, gems, and coins, which, in turn, influenced his royal commissions. Frederick sought to project the public image of a Roman emperor, Caesar Augustus, reviver of the Roman Empire, and thus promoted and exploited emulation of the classical style in his imperial commissions.[39] The Herakles cameo is meant to represent a new antiquity, not only depicting a classical hero, but also using the visual language of the classical world. A naked and muscular Herakles squeezes the lion's head under his arm as on the Roman sculpture (no. 6) described above. The addition of the medieval dragon beneath the hero's feet, however, was intended to evoke Psalm 91:13 "You will tread on the lion and the adder, the young lion and the serpent you will trample underfoot," thereby transforming this pagan image into a Christian memory. Here Herakles is recalled as an example of virtue (*exemplum virtutis*). He is not revived or reclaimed, but rather reconfigured as a Christian hero. His triumph over the lion is evoked as a reminder of Christ's triumph over evil and as a projection of a triumphant future for Frederick.[40] It probably also provided memories of Frederick's past trampling of his enemies and of the divine kingship conferred by the gods on his adopted ancestors, the emperors of ancient Rome.[41]

The last example of Heraklean re-configuration is found on an alabaster plaque from the early sixteenth century in the Worcester Art Museum (fig. 10).[42] It represents the virtue Fortitude. Along with others depicting various virtues, angels, and saints, it formed part of the Osorio-Perea Tomb in the church of San Pedro at Ocana. The personification of moral concepts had its roots in the classical world, and the moral order embodied by the pagan gods was adaptable to Christian needs.[43] Fortitude is one of the four cardinal virtues that St. Ambrose adapted from Plato's *Republic* to Christian thought in the fourth century. Standing on a pedestal within a shallow niche, Fortitude in the present example boldly uses both hands to tear open the jaws of an upright lion, recalling the deeds of Herakles, Samson, and David. Surely this method of personifying Fortitude depends ultimately on a Heraklean compositional formula. A chaste young woman has been substituted for the pagan hero. Here the compositional similarity between the pagan and Christian subjects may have been exploited to remind the viewer of Herakles as an *exemplum* of Christian virtue,[44] thereby emphasizing the timelessness and historical continuity of the virtue of Fortitude.

no. 11

Leaf from Valerius Maximus,
Factorum et dictorum memorabilium
attributed to Perrin Remiet
Paris, ca. 1390
tempera and gold on vellum
Metropolitan Museum of Art,
Bequest of Gwynne M. Andrews,
acc. no. 31.134.8

The final example of reconfiguration recasts classical pagan scenes with medieval knights, ladies and ecclesiastical figures in fourteenth-century garb on a single leaf from a Parisian manuscript datable to about 1390, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (no. 11).[45] The text is a French translation of the Roman author Valerius Maximus's *Factorum et dictorum memorabilium,* written in the first century A.D. and dedicated to the emperor Tiberius. The translation was commissioned from Simon de Hesdin by Charles V of France (1364-80). Seeking to revive the memory of the political lessons chronicled in Roman texts (to affirm his rightful tenure to the throne after the Hundred Years War[46]), Charles V commissioned, among his splendid illuminated manuscripts, numerous translations of classical works.[47] The Metropolitan leaf shows the beginning of Book I of the *Memorabilium*, a compilation of anecdotes on Roman religious practices and ceremonies. Above the text is an illumination divided into four scenes. The upper left quadrant depicts a contemporary scene of Simon de Hesdin presenting his translation to Charles V. The memory of the classical precedent for such a ceremony is evoked by the scene in the quadrant to the right. Here the Roman emperor Tiberius, dressed in the contemporary garb and domed crown of a Holy Roman Emperor, leads a band of knights bearing a banner and shield with the double-headed eagle. The contingent approaches the enthroned author, Valerius Maximus, who wears a robe, skullcap, and pointed shoes of the fourteenth century.[48] Medieval content infiltrates a classical scene. Moreover, the juxtaposition of the two upper quadrants equates Charles V with an ancient scholar, thereby emphasizing his scholarship, as did Charles's biographer Christine de Pisan in her writings.[49]

The two lower scenes depict episodes recounted in the text of Book I on rites and ceremonies. In the lower left, a priestess leads worship before an image of the goddess Ceres, identified by the sheaf of grain in her hand. Here again, the figures are dressed in medieval costume. Indeed, the only classical aspect is the gilded image of the goddess; the composition is adapted from the Christian scene of worshipers before the Virgin and Child.[50] (This is the opposite of the David and Samson representations described above, which adapt a pagan composition to biblical figures.) On the lower right, the Roman priest Sulpicius performs a sacrifice interrupted by an "*ornement de tête*" falling from his head—another classical event remembered in medieval terms. The priest is transformed into a fourteenth-century bishop whose falling head ornament is a miter. The temple, cut away to reveal a tonsured cleric before an altar, is rendered as a Gothic church with two ecclesiastics standing before the entrance. In these illustrations then, the artist underlines the relevance of the memories embodied in the classical scenes and makes them more accessible to the viewer by recasting them in medieval terms.

As I have attempted to show above, remembering antiquity through reuse, replication, and reconfiguration first and foremost enhanced the medieval viewer's understanding of the present Christian culture. In modern terms, it implied a comparison between the "once upon a time" and the "here and now." No matter how closely classical canonical forms were preserved in the middle ages, as in the reuse of *spolia*, the visual emphases and meanings were always redirected. However different their methods, each mode indulges in the memory of the classical past and its similarity to the present. It mines the debris of the ancient visual vocabulary (remembering to forget most of it) and reshapes it, perhaps in style, perhaps in context, to suit new needs. Each mode relies on careful selectivity, be it by choosing a significant ancient fragment to reuse or replicate or by adapting and recasting an ancient theme. The result is the same for each, an appeal to the viewer's emotions, prompting a casting aside of rational response and an exploitation of the viewer's memory.

Notes

[1] In one of his two studies on rhetoric. See Boncompago 1891, p. 255.

[2] I am aware of the ambiguity of the terms "classical" and "antique" as they have been used in modern scholarly literature, given that pagan civilization merged gradually into the Christian. I shall use the terms here to refer to the Greco-Roman period before Constantine's legalization of Christianity in 313 A.D.

[3] Weitzmann 1979, pp. 126-131 and Weitzmann 1960.

[4] For a recent discussion of the notion of a Carolingian "Renaissance" and the misperceptions of earlier scholarship see Nees 1991, pp. 3-17.

[5] The concept was first explored in detail in Haskins 1927. See also Panofsky 1960.

[6] For discussion and additional bibliography, see Scher 1969 and Kitzinger 1982.

[7] For discussion see Kitzinger 1982 with additional bibliography.

[8] For examples of medieval uses of *spolia* and discussion of the practice see Heckscher 1937; Kitzinger 1982, p. 639; Bloch 1982; Kinney 1986; Westermann-Angerhausen 1987; Brenk 1987; and Constable 1990, pp. 55-62. For the latter reference the author is grateful to Virginia Reinburg.

[9] The antique gems were identified and dated by Antje Krug. A list is contained in the object file at the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

[10] The casket also contains *repoussé* angels and border strips from a Mosan *châsse* or reliquary of about 1160. See McLachlan-Thurlby-Little 1985, p. 83. I am grateful to Charles Little for sharing his research on this object and for suggesting its inclusion in the exhibition.

[11] For a similar melange of antique gems see the reliquary Shrine of the Three Kings in Cologne Cathedral, produced in Cologne between about 1181 and 1230 (Schnitzler 1959, pp. 36-40, no. 29).

[12] At least some church officials were familiar with classical myths in the twelfth century. See Heckscher 1937, p. 218.

[13] For other examples of *interpretatio christiana* of ancient gems see *Survival of the Gods* 1987, pp. 186-188 with additional bibliography.

[14] See *Survival of the Gods* 1987, pp. 185-192 with additional bibliography and discussion of magical properties ascribed to stones carved with various pagan gods, including Mercury, who was thought to make the possessor wise and persuasive.

[15] On *spolia* and the notion of historical continuity see Heckscher 1937.

[16] See, for example, various Carolingian ivories and manuscripts in Hubert-Porcher-Volbach 1970, pls. 75, 180, 216, 228.

[17] According to John Herrmann, this capital probably dates to between 350 and 470. I am grateful for his help.

[18] See Cahn-Seidel 1979, p. 57. The precise origin of this capital remains unknown.

[19] On borrowings from antiquity in England, France and Germany in the twelfth century see Sauerländer 1982 with additional bibliography.

[20] The invention of Evangelist portraits is too late for them to be actual likenesses. Therefore, they had to be idealized types.

[21] Friend 1927 and 1929. See also Hanfmann 1980, pp. 75-79.

[22] These prototypes were identified in Friend's unpublished research see Vikan 1973, p. 47 and Metzger 1964, p. 28.

[23] Friend 1927, p. 143.

[24] More complete examples may be found in several Byzantine manuscripts of the tenth and eleventh centuries including Rome, Vatican Library Cod. Gr. 364, fol. 131. See Friend 1927, pl. 105.

[25] This is a dismembered leaf from Trier, Stadtbibliothek MS 178 (205). For description see Swarzenski-Schilling 1929, p. 3.

[26] See Friend 1927, p. 140 and Friend 1929, pp. 9-22, esp. fig. 11.

[27] Weitzmann 1979, pp. 126-129.

[28] See *Survival of the Gods* 1987, pp. 11-17 and Nees 1991 with additional bibliography.

[29] On the Herakles theme see Galinsky 1972; on representations in classical art see Uhlenbrock 1986.

[30] In this fragment Herakles is broken off above the shoulders and below the waist, and the lion is missing his body beyond the mane. The back of the fragment may have been recut for reuse as building material. For description see Vermeule 1988, p. 36, no. 23.

[31] On the plates see Wander 1973, Grunisven-Eygenraam 1973, and Weitzmann 1979, pp. 475-483 with additional bibliography.

[32] For example see a fourth-century relief from Egypt now in the Brooklyn Museum, acc. no. 61.128; Uhlenbrock 1986, no. 57. Similar compositions from antiquity also show Mithras slaying the bull; for examples see Weitzmann 1979, pp. 193-196.

[33] Kitzinger 1977, p. 110.

[34] For discussion see Grunisven-Eygenraam 1973 and Wander 1973 and 1975, who suggests that the plates were commissioned by Heraclius to commemorate his victory over the Persian general Razatis in 627.

[35] Heraclius's deeds are said to surpass those of Herakles. See Nees 1991, p. 163.

[36] Often represented in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, this subject was interpreted as a prefiguration of Christ's conquest of the devil.

[37] The capital may have come from the cloister of the cathedral of Notre-Dame-des-Doms; see Scher 1969, pp. 127-132.

[38] For discussion see *Dumbarton Oaks* 1967, pp. 99-100, no. 340; Hausherr 1977, vol. 1, pp. 696-697; vol. 5, pp. 477-520.

[39] For discussion see Kantorowicz 1928 and Meredith 1986 with additional bibliography.

[40] I am grateful to Matilda Bruckner for the latter suggestion.

[41] For discussion see Hausherr 1977, vol. 1, pp. 696-697; vol. 5, p. 513. For other messages (including negative and ambiguous ones) conveyed by representations of Herakles in the middle ages, see Nees 1991.

[42] See Gillerman 1989, pp. 286-289, no. 220 with additional bibliography.

[43] For discussion of the origins of representations of virtues and vices in Christian art see Katzenellenbogen 1939.

[44] Indeed, Herakles is often thought to personify the Christian virtue of Fortitude in later medieval works like the Baptistery pulpit in Pisa by Nicola Pisano datable to about 1260. See Nees 1991, p. 65.

[45] For discussion and dating of this leaf see Boehm 1984, pp. 53-63. I am grateful to Barbara Boehm for suggesting its inclusion in the exhibition. Boehm now associates the leaf with the illuminator Perrin Remiet and has identified a sister leaf in a private collection.

[46] See Boehm 1984, p. 53-55 with additional bibliography.

[47] On the manuscripts commissioned by Charles V see *La Librarie* 1968 and *Les Fastes* 1981, pp. 276-362.

[48] For the identification of the scenes see Boehm 1984, p. 57.

[49] See Boehm 1984, p. 55 with additional bibliography.

[50] For the relationship between Ceres and the Virgin see Berger 1985.

Abbreviations

Berger 1985
Berger, Pamela. *The Goddess Obscured*. Boston, 1985.

Bloch 1982
Bloch, Herbert. "A New Fascination with Ancient Rome," *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*. Cambridge, 1982, pp. 615-636.

Boehm 1984
Boehm, Barbara. "Valerius Maximus in a Fourteenth-Century French Translation: An Illuminated Leaf," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 18 (1984), pp. 53-63.

Boncompagno 1891
Boncompagno. *Rhetorica Novissima: Biblioteca Iuridica Medii Aevi*. Vol. 2. Bologna, 1891.

Brenk 1987
Brenk, Beat. "Spolia from Constantine to Charlemagne: Aesthetics versus Ideology," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 41 (1987), pp. 103-109.

Cahn-Seidel 1979
Cahn, Walter and Seidel, Linda. Romanesque *Sculpture in American Collections. Vol. 1: New England Museums*. New York, 1979.

Constable 1990
Constable, Giles. "A Living Past: The Historical Environment of the Middle Ages," *Harvard Library Bulletin* 1 (1990), pp. 49-70.

Dumbarton Oaks 1967
Handbook of the Byzantine Collection, Dumbarton Oaks. Washington, 1967.

***Les Fastes* 1981**
Les Fastes du Gothique: le Siecle du Charles V. Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais, Paris, 1981.

Friend 1927
Friend, Albert M. "The Portraits of the Evangelists in Greek and Latin Manuscripts," *Art Studies* 5 (1927), pp. 113-147.

Friend 1929
Friend, Albert M. "The Portraits of the Evangelists in Greek and Latin Manuscripts," *Art Studies* 7 (1929), pp. 1-29.

Galinsky 1972
Galinsky, G. Karl. *The Herakles Theme: The Adaptation of the Hero in Literature from Homer to the Twentieth Century*. Oxford, 1972.

Gillerman 1989
Gillerman, Dorothy, ed. *Gothic Sculpture in America I: The New England Museums*. New York, 1989.

Grunsven-Lygenraam 1973
Grunsven-Lygenraam, Mariette van. "Heraclius and the David Plates," *Bulletin Antieke Beschaving* 48 (1973), pp. 158-174.

Hanfmann 1980
Hanfmann, George. "The Continuity of Classical Art: Culture, Myth, and Faith," *Age of Spirituality: A Symposium*. New York, 1980, pp. 75-93.

Haskins 1927
Haskins, Charles Homer. *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*. Cambridge, 1927.

Hausherr 1977
Hausherr, Rainer. *Die Zeit der Staufer*. Vols. 1-5. Stuttgart, 1977.

Heckscher 1937
Heckscher, William. "Relics of Pagan Antiquity in Mediaeval Settings," *Journal of the Warburg Institute* 1 (1937), pp. 204-220.

Hubert-Porcher-Volbach 1970
Hubert, J., Porcher, J., and Volbach, W.F. *The Carolingian Renaissance*. New York, 1970.

Kantorowicz 1928
Kantorowicz, Ernst. *Kaiser Friedrich der Zweite*. Berlin, 1928.

Katzenellenbogen 1939
Katzenellenbogen, Adolf. *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Medieval Art*. London, 1939.

Kinney 1986
Kinney, Dale. "Spolia from the Baths of Caracalla in Sta. Maria in Trastevere," *Art Bulletin* 68 (1986), pp. 379-397.

Kitzinger 1977
Kitzinger, Ernst. *Byzantine Art in the Making*. Cambridge, 1977.

Kitzinger 1982
Kitzinger, Ernst. "The Arts as Aspects of a Renaissance: Rome and Italy," *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*. Cambridge, 1982, pp. 637-670.

***La Librairie* 1968**
La Librairie de Charles V. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, 1968.

McLachlan-Thurlby-Little 1985
McLachlan, Elizabeth, Thurlby, Malcolm, and Little, Charles. "Romanesque Reassembled in England: A Review," *Gesta* 24 (1985), pp. 77-86.

Meredith 1986
Meredith, Jill. "The Revival of the Augustan Age in the Court Art of Emperor Frederick II," *Artistic Strategy and the Rhetoric of Power: Political Uses of Art from Antiquity to the Present*. 1986, pp. 39-56.

Metzger 1964
Metzger, Bruce. *The Text of the New Testament*. London, 1964.

Nees 1991
Nees, Lawrence. *A Tainted Mantle: Hercules and the Classical Tradition at the Carolingian Court*. Philadelphia, 1991.

Panofsky 1960
Panofsky, Erwin. *Renaissances and Renascences in Western Art*. New York, 1960.

Sauerländer 1982
Sauerländer, Willibald. "Architecture and the Figurative Arts: the North," *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*. Cambridge, 1982, pp. 671-710.

Scher 1969
Scher, Stephen. *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*. Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, Providence, 1969.

Schnitzler 1959
Schnitzler, Hermann. *Rheinische Schatzkammer die Romanik*. Düsseldorf, 1959.

***Survival of the Gods* 1987**
Survival of the Gods: Classical Mythology in Medieval Art. Brown University, Providence, 1987.

Swarzenski-Schilling 1929
Swarzenski, Georg and Schilling, Rosy. *Die illuminierten Handschriften und Einzelminiaturen des Mittelalters und der Renaissance in Frankfurter Besitz*. Frankfurt, 1929.

Uhlenbrock 1986
Uhlenbrock, Jaimee Pughese. *Herakles: Passage of the Hero Through 1000 Years of Classical Art*. New Rochelle, 1986.

Vermeule 1988
Vermeule, Cornelius C. *Sculpture in Stone and Bronze in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: Additions to the Collections of Greek, Etruscan, and Roman Art* 1971-1988. Boston, 1988.

Vikan 1973
Vikan, Gary, ed. *Illuminated Greek Manuscripts from American Collections*. Princeton, 1973.

Wander 1973
Wander, Steven. "The Cyprus Plates: The Story of David and Goliath," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 8 (1973), pp. 89-104.

Wander 1975
Wander, Steven. "The Cyprus Plates and the Chronicle of Fredegar," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 29 (1975), pp. 345-346.

Weitzmann 1960
Weitzmann, Kurt. "The Survival of Mythological Representations in Early Christian and Byzantine Art and their Impact on Christian Iconography," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 14 (1960), pp. 45-68.

Weitzmann 1979
Weitzmann, Kurt, ed. *The Age of Spirituality: Late Antique and Early Christian Art, Third to Seventh Century*. New York, 1979.

Westermann-Angerhausen 1987
Westermann-Angerhausen, Hiltrud. "Spolie und Umfeld in Egberts Trier," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 50 (1987), pp. 305-336.

Remembering the Saints

Virginia Reinburg

Like people of every era and culture, medieval men and women remembered and honored their dead. They commemorated with particular affection "the very special dead," holy people—called saints—who had dedicated their lives to God, and whom God had rewarded with a place in his heavenly kingdom. Saints were not only residents of the kingdom of heaven; they were God's family, friends, servants, and attendants. In short, to employ the language of medieval politics and society, saints were members of God's royal court. They did God's work in heaven as they had while alive on earth and could intercede with God on behalf of human beings. Saints thus played a key role in the relationship between God and living women and men. Their lives provided examples of virtue, and because they were God's friends, saints served as patrons for devotees by receiving requests (in the form of prayer and pious acts) and interceding with the God they had themselves served so faithfully.[1]

Medieval Christians remembered saints with great energy. They composed stories of saints' lives and miracles, passing them from community to community, from generation to generation, through story-telling, sermons, art, and books. Such tales preserved memories of the saints—often with embellishment and modification—and helped forge lasting bonds between individuals or communities and saints of local fame or influence. According to Adrevald of Fleury, a ninth-century monk, the saints' heroic deeds "are placed in our hearts through the recitation of their story, so that they are restored to presence in our mind's eye as if through some mirror."[2] Remembering a saint, keeping him alive "in our hearts," thus depended on telling stories of his life and miracles. And it logically followed that a saint whose local reputation suggested a willingness to grant protection and assistance was more likely to receive prayer, praise, and gifts. Sixth-century bishop Gregory of Tours explained how a saintly patron's help encouraged a devotee to offer gifts in return: "each person cheerfully rejoices under the protection of his own patron saint and more eagerly repays the honor that is owed, when he realizes that he has been cleansed by his patron's power from the illness that he suffered."[3]

Saints' cults flourished throughout the middle ages, in every part of Europe. The act of remembering saints—telling their stories, commemorating their deeds, asking their help—provided much of the subject matter for the visual arts, music, architecture, literature, and ritual. Often these cultural expressions not only recorded an individual saint's life or virtues, but also celebrated the relationship between a saint and a human being or social group. In particular, a community's experience of its past—its collective memory—crystallized around cults of saints, usually focused on local ownership of saints' relics. For example, the city of Venice, having acquired St. Mark's relics in 828, commemorated his patronage yearly by solemnly carrying his relics through the city's neighborhoods in a grand procession, and afterward celebrated the history and character of Venice itself with parades, theatre, and feasts. Gentile da Fabriano's *Pilgrims at the Tomb of St. Nicholas* (1425) (fig. 2) reminded viewers of St. Nicholas's benevolence. The painting, a predella panel from an altarpiece commissioned for the Florentine church of San Nicolò sopr'Arno, depicts pilgrims venerating the saint's tomb.[4] Although St. Nicholas was not buried in San Nicolò sopr'Arno, parishioners undoubtedly addressed prayers especially fervently to their church's patron saint. Local history was constructed through art and ritual, as these examples show, and moreover connected to wider currents of Christian history—whether St. Nicholas's gifts to a Florentine parish, or St. Mark's posthumous emigration from Palestine to Venice. In both cases a saint's cult provided the vehicle for remembering history and negotiating local identity. Like saints' cults, collective identities did not remain fixed. Venice's festivities differed in ritual detail from year to year, local preachers and viewers interpreted Gentile da Fabriano's painting anew from time to time; a community's sense of its past and its present evolved accordingly.

The Venetian feast of St. Mark and Gentile da Fabriano's painting exemplify what Pierre Nora has called "the places" or sites of memory (*les lieux de mémoire*): events, objects, symbols, discourses, or spaces where memories converge, conflict, and define relationships between past, present, and future.[5] In short, they are the crucible in which identities are formed and transformed. In this essay I take up two aspects of memory in medieval culture that have not generally been considered in tandem: collective memory and the arts of memory.[6] First, I explore the way medieval Christians memorialized the saints and their deeds in the visual arts, and ask what such artistic expressions can tell us about how the saints were known in specific communities. But I will also consider the activity of remembering and ask how collective memory converged and focused on objects—specifically, bodily remains of saints (relics), and the artifacts created to honor and interpret those remains. Medieval Christians remembered the saints and centered their history and collective sentiments on them through seeing, touching, even tasting relics, reliquaries, pilgrim souvenirs, and images. I hope to suggest here that the meaning of medieval art for its owners and viewers was rooted in

fig. 2

Pilgrims at the Tomb of St. Nicholas
Gentile da Fabriano, c. 1370–1427
Florence, 1425
tempera on panel
National Gallery of Art
Samuel H. Kress Collection
© 1994 Board of Trustees
acc. no.1939.1.268

fig. 3

Relic of the Skull of Pope St. Zachanas
17th or 18th century
green velvet wrapper with silk embroidery
Kermt, Kerk van Onze-Lieve-Vrouw-Onbevlekte-Ontvangenis
Institut Royal du Patrimoine, Brussels

fig. 4

Burial of St. Edmund
Life and Miracles of St. Edmund
King and Martyr
Bury St. Edmunds Abbey, c. 1130
tempera, gold leaf on vellum
The Pierpont Morgan Library
New York MS. M.736, fol. 18

the senses and in interior experiences stimulated through the senses.[7] By discussing ways medieval Christians remembered the saints, I will suggest links between collective memory and an "art" of memory centered on objects.

Christians knew the saints through stories circulating in oral and written form, but they also knew their saints more intimately through physical remains saints left on earth. Indeed, from late antiquity through the late middle ages, much of the cult of saints focused on the location, possession, and veneration of relics.[8] For twentieth-century people, the attention lavished on saints' relics is surely one of the more foreign and puzzling aspects of medieval Christian practice, and even scholars of medieval history on occasion express a patronizing attitude toward relic cults. But what did medieval men and women see when they looked at the skulls, bits of bone, and piles of dust that had once been the bodies of "God's friends"? (For an example of a relic see fig. 3.) Implicitly acknowledging a disjuncture between (earthly) appearance and (spiritual) reality, Adrevald of Fleury cautioned that saints were venerated not "because of their outward appearances, but because we know them [to be] beautiful on account of their merits."[9] Saints had glorified God with their lives, and their bodies thus shared the glorification of Jesus's body after his resurrection from death. According to twelfth-century monk Guibert of Nogent, "the bodies of the elect ought to conform to the glory of the body of Christ, so that the vileness that is contracted by accident or natural decay is amended to the pattern of the Son of God as transfigured on the Mount."[10] Guibert's near contemporary, abbot Peter the Venerable, expressed a similar understanding when he reminded his monks that Jesus had promised his servants bodily resurrection "and the glorification of human substance totally." Therefore, Peter declared, "we ought to reverence with due honor the body of this blessed martyr about to be resurrected, as it will be clothed in immortal glory, although we see it as dead."[11] Bodies the saints left behind—however imperfect, fragmentary, or decomposed—reflected the spiritual perfection they had attained, and to the living faithful they were beautiful, worthy of the highest admiration. Relics of St. Martin of Tours were called "that most precious gem." St. Benedict's remains were described as "a treasure dearer to God than gold or silver and all gems."[12]

The rich Latin vocabulary that medieval Christians used for relics suggests the many layers of meaning they attached to them. Although *reliquiae* referred to "relics," the word also retained its earlier sense of "inheritance." Relics were also *pignora*, literally "pledges."[13] *Memoria* could mean tomb, sanctuary, or relic.[14] *Reliquiae, pignora,* and *memoria* signify at the same time a material object, and that object's association with the presence or memory of a person. Indeed, for medieval Christians the departed saints were present in their relics, and their patronage and friendship could therefore be sought at their tombs. An early inscription on the tomb of St. Martin of Tours read: "Here lies Martin the bishop, of holy memory, whose soul is in the hand of God; but he is fully here, present and made plain in miracles of every kind."[15] Stories of miracles performed by St. Martin at his tomb in Tours, and other saints in their resting places—told and retold, collected, written down in miracle collections—proved the saints' presence and encouraged pilgrims suffering from illness, disability, and misfortune to seek help at their shrines.[16] As Gregory of Tours commented about a healing miracle he recorded, "I must contribute to people's memory this distinguished miracle for the glory of the one who performed it."[17] At tombs, and wherever relics were enshrined, the faithful could meet their saintly patrons. Thus time and space condensed around relics. Because saints dwelled with God but remained on earth in their *memoriae,* relics bridged heaven and earth. Their *pignora* stayed behind, a pledge of the future resurrection of all humankind. At the resting places of saints, the past, present, and future collapsed into a dense web of promises, beliefs, hopes, and prayers.[18]

Early Christians had gathered at saints' tombs for prayer and ritual, literally praying on top of the bones of martyrs. As they constructed churches for their religious gatherings, it became customary to bury bodies of saints inside altars or under a church sanctuary.[19] For example, an illustration from a twelfth-century manuscript *Life of St. Edmund* (fig. 4) depicts the martyred ninth-century English king being laid in a sarcophagus beneath the church's floor.[20] In a stained glass panel from Canterbury cathedral (fig. 5), pilgrims kneel before the altar containing relics of St. Thomas Becket. The eucharistic liturgy (mass) was enacted on altars that were also saints' tombs, a practice that endures in Catholic, Anglican, and Orthodox traditions.[21] Parishes and monastic communities literally lived on, and in the presence of, their patron saints.

But during the middle ages, the bodies of few saints were buried intact at a known tomb or altar. Since at least the fourth century, Christians had divided up the precious remains of martyrs, missionaries, bishops, and other holy people. Relics—and the saintly patronage they carried with them—were in great demand for altars in the churches, shrines, monasteries, and cathedrals built as new regions of Europe were converted to Christianity.[22] A veritable market evolved to fur-

fig. 5

Pilgrims at St. Thomas Becket's Tomb
Canterbury Cathedral
last quarter of 12th century
stained glass
Photo courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London

nish new altars and religious institutions with the relics they needed; saints' bones became commodities that could be bought, sold, traded, inherited, given as gifts, and stolen.[23] While it would be easy to condemn the circulation of relics as greedy and cynical, we should also remember that medieval monks, priests, and kings longed for relics because of the saintly patronage relics pledged, as well as the social prestige they brought.

In the Christian cultures of Europe and the British Isles, relics had a variety of religious and secular uses. Because relics promised the presence of a saint and were therefore believed to possess sacred power, it seemed sensible to transact all manner of business in their presence. Relics were not only employed for formal prayer and liturgy. They were used for healing and for what we today would call judicial and political business (trials, oaths, fund-raising, and what some historians have rather crudely called "monastic propaganda").[24]

The expanded functions of relics required that they not merely rest intact in tombs or churches, but that they be mobile. This in turn required portable receptacles, and modern museum collections display the enormous variety of reliquaries crafted in different regions of medieval Europe.[25] Not all relics were enclosed in reliquaries. Some were evidently displayed as bodies or bones that viewers could see or possibly touch directly, as we can see from the skull of St. Zacharias the pope (fig. 3), wrapped in a red silk covering embroidered with "Anna," probably the name of a beguine in the Flemish beguinage that owned the relic.[26] But Sister Anna's relic of St. Zacharias's nearly naked skull was unusual. From the early middle ages on, most relics were enclosed in reliquaries that obstructed a view of the bones themselves. The earliest form of reliquary was probably the chasse or miniature sarcophagus, and numerous surviving examples testify to the form's enduring popularity (nos. 14, 15, 16). The chasse resembles the reliquary shaped like a church or shrine, in function as well as in appearance (figs. 2, 7, 8). After all, churches were also saints' tombs—indeed, because they enshrined the bones of patron saints, churches were themselves reliquaries.[27] The chasse reminded pilgrims that they knelt and prayed *ad memoriam sancti* (literally, "at the tomb of the saint" or "at the relics of the saint," but recall that *memoria* also means "memory").[28] Other common forms of reliquaries are reliquary-crosses, which contained fragments of the true cross; amulets, pendants, or phylacteries, probably fashioned for relic fragments owned by individuals or families; and body part

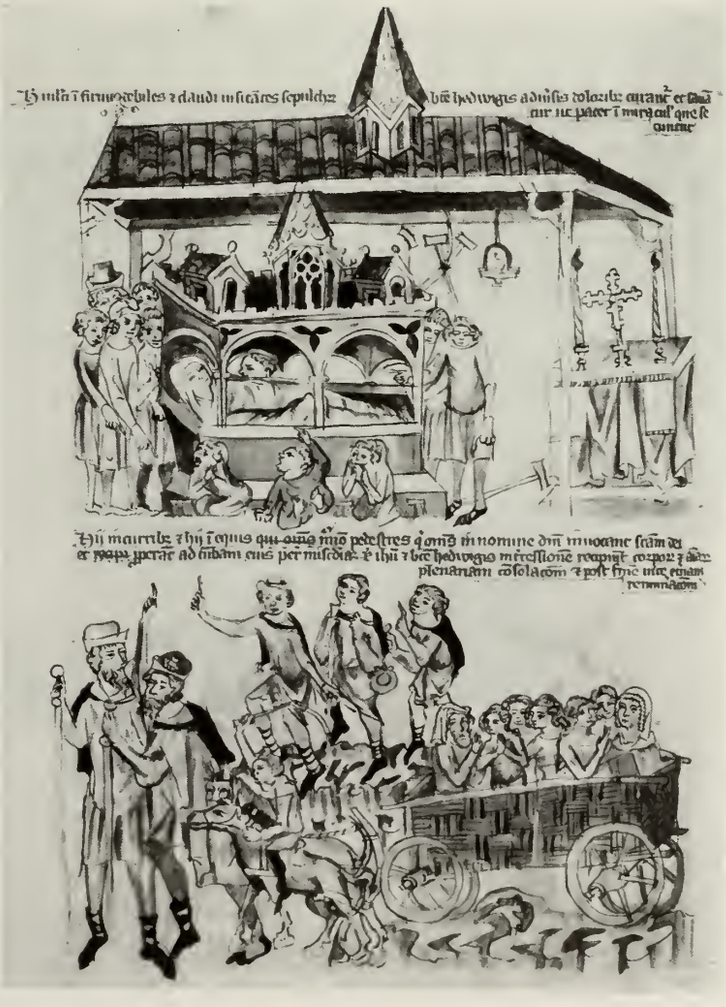


fig. 6

Pilgrims Visiting the Tomb of St. Hedwig
Life of St. Hedwig of Silesia
Court Atelier of Duke Ludwig I of Liegnitz and Brieg, 1353
pen and ink and tempera colors on vellum
J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, California
MS. 83.MN.126, fol. 87v

fig. 9

Feast of Relics at Salisbury Cathedral
Sarum Missal
England, c. 1380-1400
manuscript on vellum
Trinity College, Cambridge
MS. B.11.3, fol. 218v

reliquaries, the remarkable arms, heads, and feet that catch the eye of modern museum visitors.

Medieval art offers evidence about how Christians venerated saints' relics housed inside reliquaries. A stained glass panel from Canterbury cathedral (fig. 5) shows pilgrims praying at St. Thomas Becket's tomb. In this case (as we know from literary accounts) the tomb is depicted quite accurately.[29] In Gentile da Fabriano's *Pilgrims at the Tomb of St. Nicholas* (fig. 2) pilgrims approach, kneel before, and even touch a large marble sarcophagus containing St. Nicholas's relics. In an illumination from a fourteenth-century German *Life of St. Hedwig* (fig. 6) pilgrims—rich and poor, disabled and able-bodied—crowd around the saint's tomb, here an open bier elaborately decorated with delicate Gothic tracery.[30] And two illuminations from a fourteenth-century pontifical from Metz (figs. 7, 8) depict the rite of translating a saint's relics from one location to another.[31] In the first, lay people and clerics venerate an elaborate gold shrine reliquary sheltered under a tent. In the second, they carry the same shrine on a litter into the cathedral, where it will be installed near the main altar. A historiated initial from an English missal (c. 1380-1400) (fig. 9) portrays a priest standing at an altar covered with small reliquaries—among them a head and a hand.[32] Because this image accompanies the text for the mass on the feast day of relics owned by Salisbury cathedral, it may represent reliquaries in that cathedral's treasury.

We know from paintings such as these, as well as surviving reliquaries and literary evidence, that reliquaries varied widely in size, material, and decoration. At this point we might pause over material and decoration, and not merely to note the wealth of ecclesiastical institutions, or justifiably to admire the skill and imagination of medieval artists. Both materials and decoration served the *memoria* of the saints. The metals, gems, stone, wood, and glass from which the material culture of medieval Christianity was fashioned were meant to honor God and his saints, and to reflect the beauty of the celestial kingdom. Here the image of "the heavenly city of Jerusalem" was never far from medieval notions of how religious objects should look.[33] The narrator-visionary of the book of Revelation described God's kingdom as built of gold, gems, and crystal: "The wall was built of diamond, and the city of pure gold, like polished glass. The foundations of the city wall were faced with all kinds of precious stone: the first with diamond, the second lapis lazuli, the third turquoise, the fourth crystal.... The twelve gates were twelve pearls, ... and the main street of the city was pure gold...." [Rev. 21:18-22] As medieval commentators instructed, Christians should construct their churches and religious objects of the most precious materials. Among these objects, above all, were reliquaries. Was it not reasonable, asked Theofrid of Echternach, that the mortal

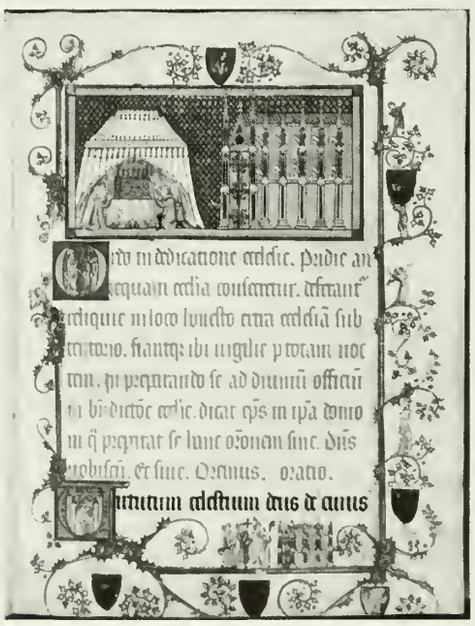


fig. 7

Reliquary Venerated by Lay People
Metz Pontifical
Metz, c. 1302-1316
manuscript on vellum
Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge
MS. 298, fol. 1

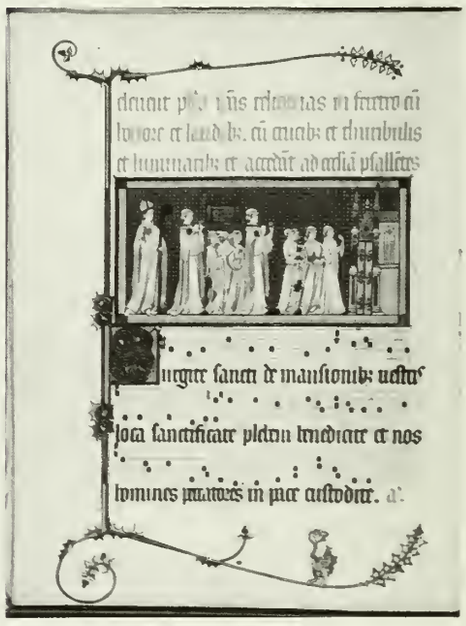


fig. 8

Reliquary Carried in Procession
Metz Pontifical
Metz, c. 1302-1316
manuscript on vellum
Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge
MS. 298, fol. 5v

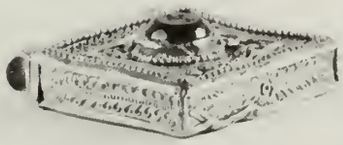
no. 13

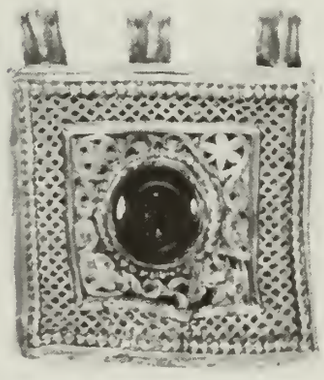
Reliquary Pendant of St. Sergius
Constantinople, 11th century
gold
Dumbarton Oaks Collection
acc. no. 53.19

remains of the saint now "vested in the raiment of immortality and crowned in glory" should merit the costliest of tabernacles, and that those who reign as kings in heaven should be gloriously housed on earth?[34] Stunning gold reliquaries encrusted with jewels—like an exquisite sixth-century Byzantine pendant containing relics of St. Zacharias (no. 12)—remind us, as they did medieval Christians, that saints' bones themselves were precious gems.[35]

Artistic skill also reminded the faithful about the saints. Words and images carved, etched, enameled, and painted onto reliquaries identified and interpreted the bones inside. As Guibert of Nogent described a twelfth-century reliquary containing bits of the Virgin Mary's clothing, "verses on it in gold told of the wonders within."[36] More recently, Daniel Arasse has pointed out that a religious image is an *aide-mémoire*—that is, it "makes the absent present," and "makes the faithful see what they know but could forget."[37] Images thus supported memory, primarily by re-presenting a person, a story, a truth. Reliquaries decorated with images not only protected saints' relics but also framed them for viewers in a more subtle way. They were sometimes decorated with portraits of the saints whose bones they enclosed—for example, a gold reliquary-pendant of St. Sergius from eleventh-century Constantinople (no. 13).[38] The reliquary identifies the saint by name and was probably designed to be worn around the neck. Owners of personal reliquaries like this claimed in a most intimate way (and advertised?) the patronage of the saint whose bones they wore.

Detailed iconography could present medieval viewers with a specific story about the saint whose remains rested in the reliquary. For example, the iconography of the Billom chasse (no. 14), a splendid Limoges chasse from the mid thirteenth century, presents the patron saint of the Auvergne as Jesus's right hand man.[39] One side of the chasse is decorated with scenes from the life of Christ; the other shows the resurrected Christ, surrounded by ten disciples, the Virgin Mary, and St. Martial. Martial, a third-century missionary and bishop of Limoges, was believed responsible for converting the Auvergne to Christianity; Gregory of Tours writes of miracles performed around St. Martial's tomb shortly after his death. According to Gregory and the gospels, Martial was not a contemporary of Jesus. But on this chasse, he stands in the coveted spot of the beloved disciple, very much the way he was represented in lives of St. Martial written by monks of the eleventh-century monastery that owned his relics. The Billom chasse explained to viewers that a local holy man stood beside Jesus in his heavenly kingdom. What better argument for the wisdom of prayer to St. Martial, or for





no. 12

Reliquary Pendant of St. Zacharias
Constantinople, 6th century
gold
Dumbarton Oaks Collection
acc. no. 57.53

the importance of the Auvergne in the kingdom of heaven?

For modern viewers, reliquaries such as the Billom chasse offer precious information about a saint's cult. On occasion we are lucky enough to have multiple reliquaries of one saint. Because so many reliquaries of St. Thomas Becket survive in European and North American museum collections, and because so much literary evidence also survives, the cult of Becket's relics is one of the best documented in medieval Europe.[40] Becket reliquaries provide a good example of the visual presentation of different stories of a saint's life and death. Thomas Becket (1120-1170), born into a family of French origin, was named archbishop of Canterbury after a brilliant career in church and secular government. Unfortunately for Becket, his quarrels with King Henry II over relations between church and crown continued after he became archbishop. Becket was twice forced into exile to France and eventually assassinated by two noblemen widely believed to be the king's supporters.

Thomas Becket had both enemies and allies during his life and for a few decades after his death. And yet, probably because of his shocking murder, he quickly acquired a reputation for sanctity. Within days of his death his remains—his body, his spilled blood, his clothing and personal possessions, the murder weapon—became the center of a cult, and Becket himself was proclaimed a saint by his supporters. (He was canonized by the pope in 1173.) His relics were divided, sought by allies and pilgrims, given as gifts, and enshrined in reliquaries, churches, and chapels named after him. Stories of his posthumous miracles circulated and were compiled for posterity in books and stained glass.[41]

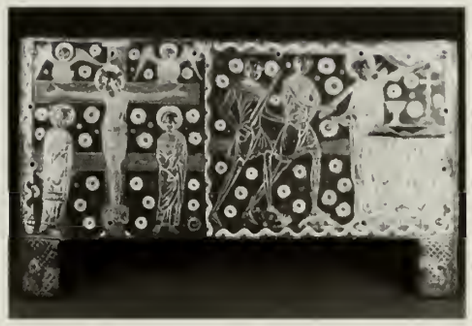
Reliquaries created to house hundreds of Becket's reputed relics aided the construction of his saintly reputation, especially in England and France, where he was most popular. For this reason reliquaries are valuable evidence about how the cult of St. Thomas Becket was practiced in different places. Because of his Norman heritage and his ties to France, Becket was a favorite of French pilgrims; the enamel workshops of Limoges produced large numbers of reliquaries of Thomas Becket, most of them intended for French or English use. The single surviving panel (no. 15) of a Limoges reliquary of St. Thomas Becket shows how a reliquary could frame relics

no. 14

Billom Chasse
Limoges, c. 1240-1260
enamel and gilding on copper over wood
Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, acc. no. 44.247

no. 16

Reliquary Chasse of St. Thomas Becket
Canterbury, c. 1200–1207
gilding on copper
Metropolitan Museum of Art,
The Cloisters Collection, 1980
acc. no. 1980.417



no. 15

Plaque from a Reliquary Chasse. The Crucifixion and Martyrdom of St. Thomas Becket
Attributed to Master G. Alpais and workshop
Limoges, c. 1220–1225
enamel and gilding on copper
Cleveland Museum of Art
Purchase from the J. H. Wade Fund
acc. no. 51.449

for medieval viewers.[42] The right side of the panel shows two knights murdering the archbishop in his cathedral; the small hand in the upper right corner represents God welcoming Becket's soul into heaven. The left side of the panel depicts Jesus's crucifixion. The hand of God, and the juxtaposition of Becket's assassination with Jesus's crucifixion, strongly suggest that Becket died a martyr. Produced within decades of his death, this reliquary essentially argues—even testifies—that Becket died a martyr.

A reliquary intended for English use (no. 16) presents Becket differently. A large and beautifully designed copper-gilt chasse of about 1200 from Christ Church monastery in Canterbury makes the case for Thomas Becket's sainthood, at the same time identifying him with the local history of Canterbury.[43] The reliquary is engraved with medallion busts showing early English saints, holy kings, and archbishops of Canterbury, and includes St. Thomas Becket in what is essentially a materialized litany of Canterbury saints. The monks of Christ Church had guarded Becket's relics from the day after the murder until 1220, when the relics were translated to what was intended to be a permanent place in the renovated cathedral. William Wixom has argued convincingly that the chasse was created by Christ Church to protect and honor relics of the saints depicted in the medallions, including Becket. The reliquary makes visible Christ Church's history: as art object, it protects and interprets centuries of saintly intercession. Large enough to be seen from a distance, the chasse with its gilded finish must have glowed in the dim candlelight of a medieval cathedral. The sturdily built chasse (or "strong box" according to Wixom) has hinges at the rear and may have hung by a chain over the altar in the cathedral's Trinity Chapel. Or the monks might have taken it on journeys as a portable reliquary—in both portraits and bodies, they carried with them the *memoriae* of their patrons.

The Limoges and Canterbury chasses were intended to aid public veneration of St. Thomas Becket's relics. But Becket's relics were so scattered that we also find a reliquary made for a gift to an individual: a small gold pendant-reliquary (no. 17) made for Reginald Fitzjocelin, bishop of Bath, for presentation to Queen Margaret of Sicily (d. 1183).[44] The relics were displayed on one side of the pendant, protected by a crystal, and identified by an inscription as the blood of St. Thomas Becket and his bloodied vestments. On the other side of the pendant is an engraving of the bishop presenting his gift to Queen Margaret. Becket's blood and clothing were among the most prized (and available) of his relics, and many stories testified to their miracle-working powers. For example, in 1171 a priest from London claimed to have been cured of paralysis by drinking water tinged with a drop of Becket's blood. Pilgrims of all walks of life, especially the sick, were eager to obtain "sanctified water" (*aqua sanctificata*) that had touched a relic or reliquary of Thomas Becket and thus acquired the sacred power of the saint himself.[45] This reliquary made St. Thomas Becket's relics Queen Margaret's private possession. Like the Byzantine pendant-

no. 19

Arm Reliquary of St. Valentine
Switzerland, late 14th century
gilding on silver
Metropolitan Museum of Art
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan
acc. no. 17.190.351

no. 17

Reliquary Pendant of St. Thomas Becket
England, c. 1174-1176
gold
Metropolitan Museum of Art
Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1963
acc. no. 63.160

no. 18

Relief of St. John the Baptist's Head
Nottingham, 15th century
alabaster with polychrome
Neil and Sharon Phillips/
Phillips Family Collection

fig. 10

Case for a Foot Reliquary of St. Margaret
France, 14th century
tooled leather
Metropolitan Museum of Art
The Cloisters Collection
acc. no. 47.101.65

no. 21

Pilgrim's Ampulla
Syria-Palestine, 6th century
terracotta
Walters Art Gallery,
Baltimore acc. no. 48.2521

reliquaries of St. Sergius and St. Zacharias (nos. 12, 13), it promised its owner the patronage of the saint whose relics she wore like jewelry, close to her heart like a lover's memento. The pendant also reminded Queen Margaret of her relationship—whether friend, relative, patron, or supporter—with the bishop of Bath, who had given the gift.

Medieval reliquaries sometimes replicated the perfected shape of the fragment within, rendering the saint's body or clothing "visible" to pilgrims, and making the holy person present. Most dramatic of these are reliquaries shaped like hands, fingers, arms, heads, feet, toes, or ribs. Although a modern viewer might assume that such reliquaries housed remains of the relevant body part, evidence suggests that like other reliquaries, they often contained a mixture of relics—sometimes from different saints.[46] Reliquaries shaped like limbs are quite striking, as we can see from the leather case for a fourteenth-century French foot reliquary (fig. 10) decorated with scenes from the life of St. Margaret.[47] Head reliquaries "made the absent present" in a particularly vivid manner. Relics of saints' skulls were sometimes presented with minimal artistic intervention, as in the relics of pope St. Zacharias (fig. 3) and St. John the Baptist.[48] (For a medieval sculpted representation of the latter see no. 18.) But most head reliquaries were jeweled metal portrait busts that held relics inside an inner compartment. A late fourteenth-century Italian reliquary-bust of St. Juliana (fig. 11), although fashioned of copper, presents the early Christian martyr in a remarkably naturalistic manner: her face is painted with tempera, her hair is gilded, and her facial features are depicted with charm and vitality.[49] The Convent of St. Giuliana in Perugia commissioned this splendid reliquary to honor remains of their patron saint's skull. The bust of St. Juliana must have rested on an altar in the chapel, where the sisters of her convent could visualize their patron among them during mass and prayers. Head reliquaries like this meld reliquary, relic, and image.[50] For medieval Christians—indeed, for modern museum visitors—they personalize and animate the relics they house. They are the "face" of the relic.

Arm reliquaries had a somewhat different function. A typical example is the late fourteenth-century gilded silver reliquary from the cathedral of Basel (no. 19) containing relics of St. Valentine.[51] This is a life-sized forearm; the hand wears a bishop's ring, and the fingers are extended in a gesture of blessing. According to late medieval inventories of the Basel cathedral's treasury, this reliquary was displayed on the main altar on important feasts. It was lined up alongside reliquary heads, arms, crosses, and chasses—just like Salisbury cathedral displayed its relics, as shown in a painting from a missal of around 1400 (fig. 9).[52] Arm reliquaries fulfilled special ritual functions: in medieval European cultures, gestures made with the arm, hand, and fingers formed part of an entire gestural language used in religious and secular affairs. The shape of arm reliquaries varied from open-handed gestures probably signifying an oath, to gestures of blessing as in the St. Valentine reliquary. Arm reliquaries—which generally contained relics of a sainted bishop, but could hold multiple relics of different saints—were employed in religious rites such as blessings, processions, and public prayer on feasts and at times of special need. Gauzlin, an eleventh-century abbot of Fleury, purchased a relic of Jesus's *sudarium* that he had placed inside a jeweled, gold arm reliquary. He established an annual procession during which the arm would be raised in blessing over crowds of the faithful, who would then return home "strengthened by a benediction made with the relics."[53] On an almost comical note, Guibert of Nogent described several incidents involving the arm reliquary of St. Arnoul and the villagers of Clermont. It leaped out of a fire into which a scoffer had thrown it; it cured a sick man by tenderly massaging his face and limbs; it wrested itself out of the grasp of thieves plundering the church treasury.[54] Different as they are, the stories told by Gauzlin and Guibert point out how arm reliquaries embodied a saint's living presence in a particularly effective way. They rendered gesture material. They made visible—and embodied—the blessing of saint and bishop.

Bits of the true cross and objects associated with Jesus's death were generally enshrined in cross-shaped reliquaries. After his resurrection, Jesus returned to heaven body and soul, leaving no bodily remains behind as *memoriae* for his followers.[55] Objects associated with his crucifixion and death became all the more precious to those who remembered him. Most dear of all was the cross on which he died—the cross soaked with his blood and tears, and alive with his presence. Medieval Christians believed that St. Helen, mother of the Roman emperor Constantine, had discovered in Palestine the cross on which Jesus had been crucified (c. 300). Pieces of the true cross had been venerated as relics in both Europe and the Christian Near East since late antique times.[56] Christians obtained relics of the true cross on pilgrimage, but also through gifts, purchase, and diplomacy. Gregory of Tours wrote that the Frankish queen St. Radegund (d. 587), through various diplomatic maneuvers, managed to acquire relics of the true cross for her Convent of the Holy Cross in Poitiers from the Byzantine imperial court in Constantinople. Healing miracles reportedly occurred in the presence of the silver reliquary that enshrined relics of the

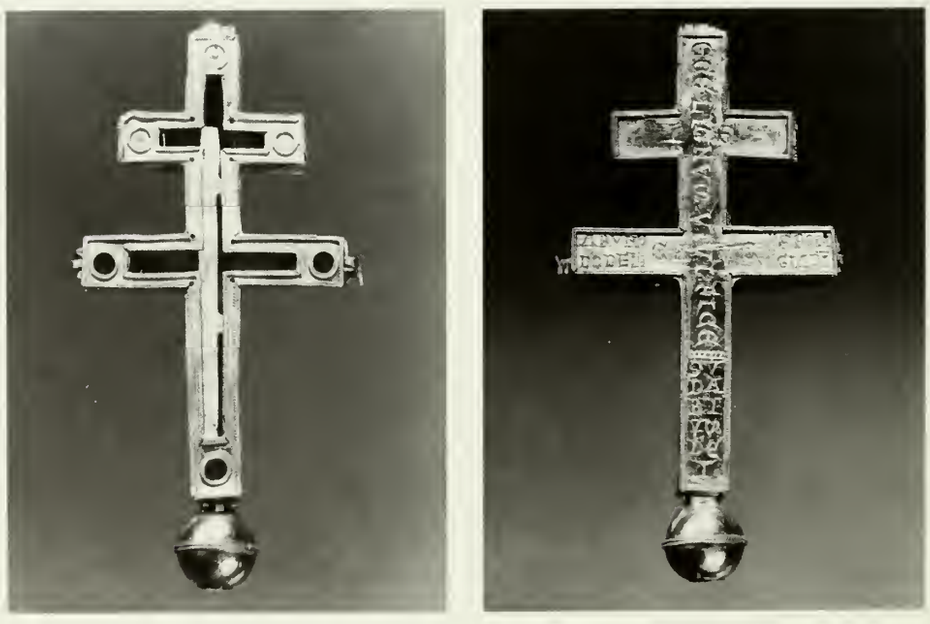
fig. 11

Reliquary Bust of St. Juliana
Guglielmo
Italy, c. 1376
gesso, tempera and gilding on copper
Metropolitan Museum of Art
The Cloisters Collection
acc. no. 61.266

cross, instruments of the crucifixion, and bones of early martyrs.[57] Pieces of the true cross (and other relics) also flowed into Europe as a result of the crusades mounted to wrest Palestine from Muslim control.[58] Western greed for the riches of the Near Eastern kingdoms certainly fueled this influx of relics and reliquaries from Palestine. But in the realm of spirituality, relics of Jesus's passion nurtured a new religious sensibility: more than ever before, western Christians longed to know the places where Jesus and his friends had walked, prayed, preached, and died.[59] New modes of prayer, devotion, and ritual appeared beginning in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, alongside many reliquaries of the true cross, some entirely new, others fashioned of older Byzantine fragments.[60] Among these new reliquaries is a small, gold, double arm reliquary-cross (no. 20) of the late twelfth century, made in Germany or Italy, but of Byzantine-inspired design. According to Latin inscriptions, it held relics of the true cross, Jesus's *sudarium,* his staff, and the sponge from which he drank as he hung on the cross. While the original owner of this object is unknown, its diminutive size and costly materials suggest that it was made for the private use of a wealthy noble, perhaps to hold precious relics obtained on crusade.[61]

Relics were fragments of bone, cloth, or wood, but in them medieval Christians saw the whole saint. Through relics they knew the truth of human devotion and suffering, and of divine redemption. Relics and tombs fashioned to hold them were sites of memory because they reminded devotees of the saint, of their relationship to the saint, and especially of God's enduring presence in the world. In relics and reliquaries collective sentiment was objectified, made visible and corporeal.[62] The collective sentiments attached to relics, reliquaries, and pilgrim souvenirs revolved around relationships among human devotees, their saintly intercessors, and God. These relationships were negotiated and celebrated in hagiography, liturgy, and art. They formed the idiom in which medieval Christians spoke about identity and community life—whether within family, village, city, monastery, or kingdom. St. Juliana, St. Thomas Becket, St. Martial, and St. Zacharias each had a biography, both in life and after death, which included stories about specific individuals and communities they knew and favored. Relics and reliquaries created places where medieval Christians constructed identity and history.

For both individuals and groups, working out relationships with saints happened most intensely at shrines. Desire to know the places where holy people lived, where their bones rested, nurtured a rich culture of pilgrimage. For pilgrims, ardor to know the saints engaged all the senses. In the monastic church at Echternach, witnesses saw "a wonderful light," heard heavenly choirs, smelled "a ravishing fragrance and most sweet odor" around the tomb of St. Willibrord.[63] After a long and eventful journey to the shrine of St. Maximinus at Micy, following days of lying prostrate in prayer on the floor of the monastery's church, a lame eleventh-century pilgrim named Henry not only saw the saint he sought, but was cured when St. Maximinus struck him with his abbatial staff.[64] Gregory of Tours reported that Roman pilgrims drank rain water that collected in the paving stones where Saints Peter and Paul had preached.[65] Pilgrims eager to touch their saints stretched their hands toward reliquaries. They wept over them, rubbed souvenir cloths over them, scratched chips from them, drank water draining off them (figs. 2, 6). When custodians permitted it, pilgrims even crawled inside the



no. 20

Double-Arm Reliquary Cross
Germany or Italy
late 12th century
gold
Cleveland Museum of Art
Purchase from the J. H. Wade Fund acc. no. 83.208

no. 22

Pilgrim's Ampulla
Syria-Palestine, 6th century
tin-lead
Detroit Institute of Arts
City of Detroit Purchase
acc. no. 26.154

fig. 13

Pilgrim Badge: Head of St. Thomas Becket
England, second half of 14th century
tin-lead
Museum of London
acc. no. 80.65/9

outer shell of the saint's tomb and slept there, as recorded in an illustrated manuscript *Life of St. Edward the Confessor* (fig. 12).[66] Whether pilgrims pressed against relic, tomb, or reliquary, the saint's potent touch was available wherever his bones rested.[67]

Pilgrims could even possess contact with the saint by acquiring souvenirs at the shrine. The most treasured mementos of pilgrimage were relics: not only bones of saints and splinters of the true cross, but also objects charged with holiness through physical contact with relics. Among these perhaps the most precious for modern viewers are souvenirs inexpensive enough for even the humblest medieval pilgrims to buy: ampullae, small containers which were mass-produced from hammered molds and designed to hold oil or earth from the holy places of Palestine. Numerous literary sources report that pilgrims purchased ampullae, and filled them with earth surrounding shrines, or oil drained from lamps burning around tombs. Pilgrims sometimes filled the flasks with oil, then touched them to relics or reliquaries to allow both oil and flask to "soak up" the sanctity believed to be communicable through physical contact.[68]

An oval bottle made of terracotta (no. 21), from sixth-century Palestine, is typical of the less expensive ampullae.[69] It bears a charming image of a saint wedged into his tomb, inside a shrine, and it is punctured with holes allowing it to be worn hanging from a belt or around a neck. A tin-lead flask (no. 22) has the more complex imagery typical of metal ampullae—on one side the crucifixion, on the other, the three Marys visiting Jesus's empty tomb on Easter morning.[70] An inscription on the first side reads "oil from the tree of life of the holy places." The iconography interlaces biblical events with motifs evoking the medieval pilgrim's vision of the Holy Land. The crucifixion is symbolized by a small cross, above which Jesus's face appears; beside the cross are the two thieves crucified with Jesus. But kneeling at the foot of Jesus's cross, just below the thieves, are two tiny pilgrims dressed in sixth-century clothing. The image of the three Marys similarly includes a sixth-century detail: the rotunda of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, complete with the grilled window protecting Jesus's tomb. Close reading of these images reveals the spiritual significance behind what might at first seem anachronistic. By showing sixth-century pilgrims present at Jesus's crucifixion and the sixth-century chapel built over Jesus's tomb, the artist of this ampulla represents a visualization of the pilgrim's experience. By seeing and touching the *memoriae* (holy sites) of Palestine, medieval pilgrims entered Jesus's world and attained the blessings attached to knowing it. For pilgrims the blessing was tangible and consumable: for the Greek word *eulogia* signifies both the gesture or words of blessing and the pilgrim's souvenir of oil collected at the shrine.[71] Both image and relic commemorate the pilgrimage.

Later medieval pilgrims who visited local shrines also bought ampullae filled with blessed water or oil.[72] More often they brought back a badge to sew on their cloak or hat. A good example is a small tin-lead badge of St. Thomas Becket's head (fig. 13), dating from the late fourteenth century.[73] Wearable souvenirs like badges not only reminded the pilgrim of her experience, but likely also signified membership in a confraternity dedicated to St. Thomas Becket—a kind of club organized by veterans of the Canterbury pilgrimage. In the late middle ages, returned pil-

no. 24

Reliquary Cross
Bavaria, 19th century
wood and ivory
Private Collection

grims sometimes sewed or glued badges inside their prayers books. Pilgrims also purchased images which they tacked on a wall back home, or glued into a prayer book. A charming watercolor of St. Agnes (no. 23) from fifteenth-century Tirol resembles the type of small image available as pilgrim souvenirs.[74] An alabaster sculpture from fifteenth-century Nottingham (no. 18) might also be a memento of pilgrimage, since it represents the relic of St. John the Baptist's head as it would have appeared to visitors at the cathedral of Amiens.[75] Like today's vacation souvenirs, pilgrim ampullae, badges, and images reminded returnees of past experiences. They differ from Mickey Mouse refrigerator magnets from Disney World, however, because they were believed to convey the living presence of a holy person or object. This was a culture in which memory was an active practice, truly an "art." Wearing, seeing, and handling objects helped pilgrims to construct memory. Souvenirs objectified the pilgrim's experiential knowledge of saints and sacred sites.

The art of remembering the saints flourished around bones and tombs because for medieval women and men the whole resided in each of its parts. St. Thomas Becket was fully present in each drop of blood he left behind; a decorated chasse reliquary embodied Canterbury's history. Medieval arts of memory that threaded together material objects and collective memories constructed the identity of the objects, and of the individuals and communities who looked at and used them. Memories of saints and their relics endure to this day in modern Catholic practice, as we know, for example, from the display of a nineteenth-century Bavarian reliquary-cross (no. 24) in the home of a family now living in Newton, Massachusetts. But today most people regularly see reliquaries only in museums. For late twentieth-century museum visitors, reliquaries and pilgrim souvenirs are themselves relics, relics of past religious and cultural practices. There is a poignancy to gazing at dislocated fragments of other lives. What we can know about what medieval objects meant depends on the haphazard survival of both objects and medieval writers' reflections about them. But our construction of the past also depends on who we are, which is why history is written and rewritten. Thus the identity of museum objects is unstable. To a wealthy collector like early twentieth-century banker J.P. Morgan, medieval objects were reminders of "the splendor of past ages," of a more confident era of western civilization.[76] The richest collections of medieval objects owe their existence to the passion for medieval art and architecture of men like Morgan, Henry Walters, and John D. Rockefeller.[77] Their benevolence created the museum as a public institution. Walking through the medieval galleries of these museums today, labels remind us of those collectors of nearly a century ago, even as they offer identities for reliquaries. Seeing reliquaries today is a different experience than it was in the seventh, thirteenth, or early twentieth centuries. And yet they remain *memoriae*. They remind us of the saints, of the medieval men and women who commemorated the saints, and of American collector- industrialists who scoured Europe searching for fragments of the medieval civilization they so admired.[78]

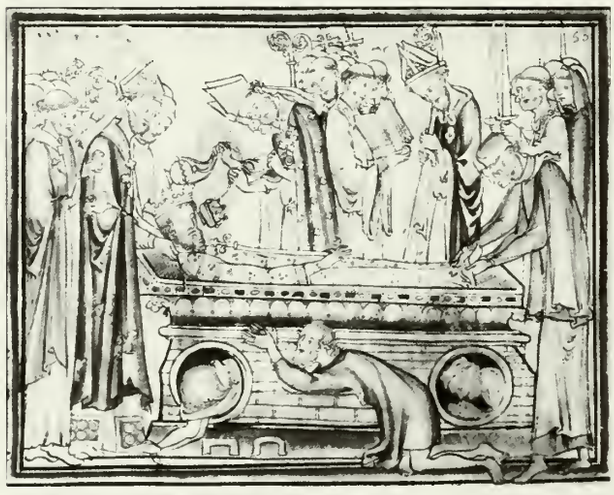


fig. 12

Veneration of St. Edward's Shrine
Life of St. Edward the Confessor
Westminster, c. 1255-1260
manuscript on vellum
Cambridge University Library
MS. Ee.3.59, fol. 29v

no. 23

St. Agnes
Tirol, c. 1450
watercolor on paper
Illuminations, Chicago

Notes

[1] On medieval cults of saints see Brown 1981; Brown 1982; Herrmann-Mascard 1975; Head 1990; Farmer 1991; Noble-Head 1995, pp. xiii-xliii.

[2] Quoted in Head 1990, p. 103.

[3] Gregory of Tours in Van Dam 1993, p. 285.

[4] See Vatican 1982, pp. 140-141.

[5] Davis-Starn 1989, p. 3; Nora 1989. See also Nora 1984-1992.

[6] For sociological studies of collective memory see Halbwachs 1992 (and introduction by Coser, who points out shortcomings of Halbwachs's theories from a historical point of view, pp. 1-34). For historical studies see Nora 1984-1992; Fentress-Wickham 1992; Representations 1989. For historical and anthropological studies of collective memory as expressed in art, see Küchler-Melion 1991. On the arts or techniques of memory see Yates 1966, Roy-Zumthor 1986, Carruthers 1990.

[7] On uses of sense experience in medieval religion see Bynum 1991; Constable 1990, for suggestive comments about the ways the senses mediated ideas about the past; and on relationships between the visual arts and sense experience, Vikan 1982 and 1984, Arasse 1981. On the amuletic qualities of objects, and ways they can act as vehicles for personal development and identity formation, see Tambiah 1984, esp. chaps. 14-18, 22.

[8] On relics, their meaning and use, see the differing approaches of Geary 1990 (esp. pp. 3-27, 32-35); Brown 1982; Head 1990 (esp. pp. 10-19).

[9] Quoted in Head 1990, p. 103.

[10] Guibert of Nogent 1984, p. 39, citing Phil. 3:21.

[11] Quoted in Bynum 1991, p. 265.

[12] Quoted in Farmer 1991, p. 33, and Head 1990, p. 11.

[13] Guibert of Nogent's book on relics was called *De pignoribus sanctorum*. On the vocabulary applied to relics see Head 1990, esp. pp. 11, 94-95, 143, 146; Brown 1981 and 1982.

[14] Beaune 1984, p. 57; Foreville 1976, p. 351.

[15] Quoted in Brown 1981, p. 4.

[16] Some of the richest collections of miracle stories are those compiled by Gregory of Tours. See Brown 1982, Van Dam 1993. On the miracles of St. Thomas Becket see Foreville 1981, pp. 445-454; and on St. Benedict see Head 1990.

[17] Gregory of Tours in Van Dam 1993, p. 157.

[18] For comments about condensation of space and time see Brown 1981, esp. pp. 78, 81-82; Constable 1990, pp. 62-63; Remburg 1989, pp. 310-311. On medieval notions of time see Patricia De Leeuw's essay in this catalogue.

[19] Gauthier 1986, p. 13-14, 23, 43.

[20] Pierpont Morgan Library MS. M. 736, fol. 18v. *Life of St. Edmund*, Bury St. Edmunds Abbey, c. 1130. On the manuscript see Gauthier 1986, pp. 84-85; Hahn 1991.

[21] Hubert 1974, Gauthier 1986, pp. 9-15.

[22] On this process see Gauthier 1986, pp. 9-15; Brown 1981; Noble-Head 1995, pp. xiii-xliii.

[23] On relics as commodities see the pioneering work of Patrick Geary (1986, 1990). See also Hunt 1981. On gift giving see Brown 1982; Brown 1981, pp. 88-97; Carolus-Barré 1965; Sigal 1976.

[24] On monastic propaganda see Töpfer 1992. For uses of relics cited here see Foreville 1976, p. 358; Head 1990, esp. pp. 146-148, 174-177; Sigal 1976; Guibert of Nogent 1984, pp. 190-197.

[25] On the history of reliquaries see Gauthier 1986, Solt 1987, Braun 1940, Taralon 1966.

[26] See Brussels 1994, pp. 180-181, 244-245. The skull is accompanied by a paper inscription reading "de S. Zacharia. papa.," which dates from the seventeenth or eighteenth century. The silk wrapper reading "AN[N]A" probably dates from the same period. (This is not the same St. Zacharias of the Byzantine reliquary in no. 12; the latter was probably the father of St. John the Baptist.)

[27] See Head 1990, p. 133; Brown 1981, pp. 36-37, 385; Gregory of Tours, *Glory of the Confessors*, pp. 100, 104-105.

[28] This phrase often appears in medieval accounts of pilgrim behavior before shrines or reliquaries (for example Foreville 1976, pp. 351-353).

[29] For descriptions of Becket's relics and their different resting places see Sédières 1975, pp. 195-209; Hearn 1994.

[30] J. Paul Getty Museum MS. 83.MN.126, fol. 87v (also known as MS. Ludwig IX.7). *Life of St. Hedwig* (Hedwig Codex), Silesia, 1353; illuminated in the court atelier of Duke Ludwig I of Liegnitz and Brieg.

[31] Fitzwilliam Museum MS. 298, fols. 1 and 5v. The Metz Pontifical, written for Raynaud de Bar, bishop of Metz, 1302-1316.

[32] Trinity College, Cambridge, MS. B.11.3, fol. 218v. Missal for the use of Sarum, c. 1380-1400.

[33] Dahl 1978, pp. 182-186. On folkloric beliefs about the magical properties of particular gems and metals see also Ilbert 1989, pp. 964-966.

[34] Here I quote directly from Dahl 1978, p. 184.

[35] Ross 1965, pp. 30-31. (This Zacharias is the father of St. John the Baptist, *not* pope St. Zacharias as in fig. 3.) The garnet now set in this piece is not the original jewel, although it dates from the same period. On relics of St. Zacharias see also Lesley 1939, p. 219.

[36] Guibert of Nogent 1984, p. 191.

[37] Arasse 1981, p. 133.

[38] Ross 1965, pp. 71-72. There is a story of the migration of some of St. Sergius's relics from Palestine to sixth-century Gaul in Gregory of Tours, *History of the Franks*, pp. 413-414. On the cult of St. Sergius see also Magoulias 1968, pp. 268-269. For a similar Byzantine pendant-reliquary, also from the eleventh century, but which ended up in France probably as a result of the crusades, see Paris 1992, pp. 317-318; Cabanot 1981.

[39] Gauthier 1972, p. 374. On the cult of St. Martial see Landes-Paupert 1991; Töpfer 1992; Gregory of Tours, *Glory of the Confessors*, pp. 41-42.

[40] On Becket's cult see the enormously rich studies of Raymonde Foreville (Foreville 1976, 1981). See also Sédières 1975.

[41] On art see Caviness 1977, and Sédières 1975, pp. 211-274.

[42] The reliquary panel was dated 1220-1225 by Wixom and, more recently, 1200-1210 by Gauthier. Wixom attributed it to Master G. Alpais and his Limoges workshop. (Wixom 1967, pp. 116-117; Gauthier in Sédières 1975, p. 250; Foreville 1976, p. 364.) On other Limoges reliquaries of Becket see Caudron and Gauthier in Sédières 1975, pp. 223-253; Foreville 1976.

[43] Dandridge 1992, Wixom 1992. My discussion of this reliquary is derived from Wixom's excellent study.

[44] Frazer 1985/86, p. 52; Newton in Sédières 1975, pp. 260-262; Foreville 1976, pp. 358-360.

[45] Foreville 1976, pp. 354, 352.

[46] Lemaître 1990, pp. 163-164; Duffy 1992, p. 164; Carolus-Barré 1965, p. 1108; and the story of Gauzlin of Fleury cited below.

[47] See Frazer 1985/86, p. 49. For another late medieval foot reliquary of St. Margaret see Paris 1992, p. 326. Among shoe reliquaries the most prized is St. Peter's sandal from the cathedral of Trier. On the latter see Westermann-Angerhausen 1987.

[48] On the relic of St. John the Baptist's head, now in the cathedral of Amiens, and its cult, see Paris 1992, pp. 325–326, 477; Taralon 1966, pp. 269–270.

[49] Ostoia 1969, pp. 81–82; Frazer 1985/86, pp. 48–49.

[50] On the relationship between reliquary and image see the insightful remarks of Hans Belting (Belting 1990, pp. 203–221); Claire Solt's and Ellert Dahl's discussions of the bust reliquary (*maiestas*) of St. Foy of Conques (Solt 1987, Dahl 1978); and on a bust reliquary of the Virgin Mary, Reinburg 1989.

[51] Burckhardt 1933, pp. 179–185; Braun 1940, pp. 403–404.

[52] Braun 1940, table 263 (following p. 354), pp. 359–382. The St. Valentine reliquary appears in all inventories dated 1477–1827.

[53] Andrew of Fleury, *Vita Gauzlini abbatis Floriacensis monasterii*, ed. Robert-Henri Bautier and Gillette Labory (Paris, 1969), p. 60. (I owe this reference to Thomas Head.) (The *sudarium* is the cloth with which St. Veronica reputedly wiped Jesus's face on the road to Calvary.) There are similar stories of the ritual use of arm reliquaries in Lemaître 1990, pp. 163–164; Solt 1987, pp. 176, 179.

[54] Guibert of Nogent 1984, pp. 226–227.

[55] Relics of Jesus (hair, fingernails, foreskin, clothing, burial shroud)—and of the Virgin Mary, who was also assumed bodily into heaven—were, however, said to have been discovered, and were venerated in the late middle ages.

[56] On relics and reliquaries of the true cross see Gauthier 1986, Frolow 1965. For examples of Byzantine reliquary-crosses see Paris 1992.

[57] Gregory of Tours, *History of the Franks*, pp. 164, 530; Gregory of Tours, *Glory of the Martyrs*, pp. 22–29; Gregory of Tours, *Glory of the Confessors*, pp. 105–108.

[58] On the flow of relics into Europe from Byzantium and Palestine see Gauthier 1986, Paris 1992, Taralon 1966, Carolus-Barré 1965.

[59] On this religious sensibility see Belting 1990. Devotional enthusiasm for Jesus's passion and relics from the Holy Land was a continuous tradition in eastern Christianity. See Vikan 1982 and 1984; Ousterhout 1990.

[60] On the use of older fragments (*spolia*) in reliquaries see Westermann-Angerhausen 1987; Taralon 1966, pp. 19–22; and the many examples in Paris 1992 and Gauthier 1986. On *spolia* see also Constable 1990.

[61] My interpretation is based on the existence of many similar relics privately obtained and owned by European kings and nobles who had been on crusade. For other examples see Paris 1992, pp. 335–337, 475, 478–479; Carolus-Barré 1965; Cabanot 1981, pp. 105–106.

[62] Here I follow Stanley Tambiah's insights about the ways artifacts like amulets or images "objectify charisma" and embody ideas about the past and collective (national) identity in modern Thailand. See Tambiah 1984, esp. the theoretical discussion in chap. 14.

[63] Noble-Head 1995, p. 202.

[64] Head 1990, pp. 169–171; Head 1984.

[65] Gregory of Tours, *Glory of the Martyrs*, p. 45.

[66] Cambridge University Library, MS. Ee.3.59, fol. 29v. *Life of St. Edward the Confessor*; Westminster, c. 1255–1260. On the manuscript see London 1987, pp. 216–217, 205. On the practice of pilgrims sleeping in, on, or under saints' tombs see also Noble-Head 1995, pp. 99, 348; Foreville 1981, pp. 451–455; Guibert of Nogent 1984, p. 194; Gregory of Tours, *Glory of the Martyrs*, pp. 45–46; London 1987, pp. 207–208. For stories of pilgrims touching relics or reliquaries see Vikan 1982, pp. 5, 11, 25; Head 1990, pp. 165–167; Noble-Head 1995, pp. 351, 353; Sigal 1976, p. 88; Lemaître 1990.

[67] On the belief that reliquaries had sacred power see Elbern 1989 and Magoulias 1968.

[68] See Grabar 1958; Vikan 1982, 1984; Noble-Head 1995, p. 154; Hunt 1981, pp. 176–179.

[69] On ampullae from this period see Grabar 1958; Vikan 1982 and 1984; Engemann 1973; Lesley 1939; and on the concept of souvenir applied to these objects, Cynthia Hahn, "Loca Sancta Souvenirs: Sealing the Pilgrim's Experience," in Ousterhout 1990, pp. 85–96.

[70] Sandin 1993, pp. 48–50; Lesley 1939.

[71] On ways pilgrims acquired blessings through art and souvenirs see Grabar 1958; Vikan 1982 and 1984. On this use of the word *memoria* see Grabar 1958, pp. 46–50, 64–66.

[72] The practice was especially common among pilgrims to Canterbury. See Foreville 1981, p. 454; London 1987, pp. 219–223.

[73] See London 1987, p. 221 (no. 58). Like so many medieval pilgrim badges this one was found in a river (in this case, the Thames, during waterfront development in 1979–1980). For other badges of St. Thomas Becket see London 1987, pp. 220–222.

[74] See Hindman 1992, pp. 90–91. On similar images obtained at shrines see Köster 1979, pp. 84–86, 126–129. On the related practice of touching (written) prayers to reliquaries or cult images see Reinburg 1989, p. 305. Köster also discusses pilgrim badges and images sewn into prayer books.

[75] On pilgrim souvenirs of the relics of St. John the Baptist see Köster 1979, pp. 98, 121.

[76] After J. P. Morgan's death the *Burlington Magazine* obituary commented: "His feeling for works of art was the outcome rather of a romantic and historical feeling for the splendor of past ages than a strictly aesthetic one. What he recognized in an object was primarily its importance, the part it had played in the evolution of civilization." (Quoted in Auchincloss 1980, p. 13.)

[77] Auchincloss 1980, esp. pp. 11–13; Wainwright 1989; Netzer 1991, pp. 11–13; and Robin Fleming's essay in this catalogue. Of the rich recent literature on collecting, displays, and museums see Thomas 1991, esp. chap. 4; Karp-Lavine 1991. See also Michael Camille's suggestive comments about displaying medieval objects in contemporary museums (Camille 1993, pp. 372–373).

[78] I would like to thank Jennifer Grinnell, Thomas Head, Nancy Netzer, Claire Reinburg, and Karine Ugé for their help as I was preparing this essay, and Dwayne Carpenter for his companionship in thinking about religious life. I am also grateful to Peter Brown, from whom I have learned so much about the lived Christianity of the middle ages.

Abbreviations

Arasse 1981
Arasse, Daniel. "Entre dévotion et culture: Fonctions de l'image religieuse au XVe siècle." In *Faire croire: Modalités de la diffusion et de la réception des messages religieux du XIIe au XVe siècle.* Rome, 1981, pp. 131–146.

Auchincloss 1990
Auchincloss, Louis. *J. P. Morgan: The Financier as Collector.* New York, 1990.

Beaune 1984
Beaune, Colette. "Les sanctuaires royaux: De Saint-Denis à Saint-Michel et Saint-Léonard." In Pierre Nora, ed., *Les lieux de mémoire*, 7 vols. Paris, 1984–1992, vol. 2, pp. 57–87.

Belting 1990
Belting, Hans. *The Image and its Public in the Middle Ages: Form and Function of Early Paintings of the Passion.* New Rochelle, 1990.

Braun 1940
Braun, Joseph. *Die Reliquiare des christlichen Kultes und ihre Entwicklung.* Freiburg, 1940.

Brown 1981
Brown, Peter. *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity.* Chicago, 1981.

Brown 1982
Brown, Peter. "Relics and Social Status in the Age of Gregory of Tours." In *Society and the Holy in Late Antiquity.* Berkeley, 1982, pp. 222–250.

Brussels 1994
Vandenbroeck, Paul, *et al. Le jardin clos de l'âme: L'imaginaire des religieuses dans les Pays-Bas du Sud, depuis le 13e siècle.* Brussels, 1994.

Burckhardt 1933
Burckhardt, Rudolf F. *Die Kunstdenkmäler des Kantons Basel-Stadt,* vol. 2: *Der Basler Munsterschatz.* Basel, 1933.

Bynum 1991
Bynum, Caroline Walker. *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion.* New York, 1991.

Cabanot 1981
Cabanot, Jean. "Le trésor des reliques de Saint-Sauveur de Charroux, centre et reflet de la vie spirituelle de l'abbaye." *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest,* 4th series, 16 (1981–1982), pp. 103–123.

Camille 1993
Camille, Michael. "Art History in the Past and Future of Medieval Studies." In John Van Engen, ed., *The Past and Future of Medieval Studies.* Notre Dame, 1993, pp. 362–382.

Carolus-Barré 1965
Carolus-Barré, Louis. "Saint Louis et la translation des corps saints." In *Études d'histoire du droit canonique dédiées à Gabriel Le Bras.* Paris, 1965, pp. 1088–1112.

Carruthers 1990
Carruthers, Mary. *The Book of Memory: A Study in Medieval Culture.* Cambridge, 1990.

Caviness 1977
Caviness, Madeline H. *The Early Stained Glass of Canterbury Cathedral, circa 1175–1220.* Princeton, 1977.

Constable 1990
Constable, Giles. "A Living Past: The Historical Environment of the Middle Ages." *Harvard Library Bulletin,* n.s., 1 (1990), pp. 49–70.

Dahl 1978
Dahl, Ellert. "Heavenly Images: The Statue of St. Foy of Conques and the Signification of the Medieval 'Cult-Image' in the West." *Acta ad Archaeologiam et Artium Historiam Pertinenta* 8 (1978), pp. 175–191.

Dandridge 1992
Dandridge, Pete. "The Development of the Canterbury Chest." In *The Cloisters: Studies in Honor of the Fiftieth Anniversary.* New York, 1992, pp. 228–233.

Davis-Starn 1989
Davis, Natalie Zemon, and Randolph Starn. "Introduction," *Representations* 26 (1989), pp. 1–6.

Duffy 1992
Duffy, Eamon. *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, 1400–1580.* New Haven, 1992.

Elbern 1989
Elbern, Victor H. "Heilige, Dämonen und Magie an Reliquiaren des frühen Mittelalters." In *Santi e demoni nell'alto Medioevo occidentale (secoli V–XI).* Spoleto, 1989, pp. 951–980.

Engemann 1973
Engemann, Josef. "Palästinensische Pilgerampullen im F. J. Dölger-Institut in Bonn." *Jahrbuch fur Antike und Christentum* 16 (1973), pp. 5–27.

Farmer 1991
Farmer, Sharon. *Communities of Saint Martin: Legend and Ritual in Medieval Tours.* Ithaca, 1991.

Fentress-Wickham 1992
Fentress, James, and Chris Wickham. *Social Memory.* Oxford, 1992.

Foreville 1976
Foreville, Raymonde. "La diffusion du culte de Thomas Becket dans la France de l'Ouest avant la fin du XIIe siècle." *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 19 (1976), pp. 347–369.

Foreville 1981
Foreville, Raymonde. *Thomas Becket dans la tradition historique et hagiographique.* London, 1981.

Frazer 1985/86
Frazer, Margaret English. "Medieval Church Treasuries." *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 43, 3 (winter 1985/86).

Frolow 1965
Frolow, A. *Les reliquaires de la vraie croix.* Paris, 1965.

Gauthier 1972
Gauthier, Marie-Madeleine. *Émaux du moyen âge occidental.* Fribourg, 1972.

Gauthier 1986
Gauthier, Marie-Madeleine. *Highways of the Faith: Relics and Reliquaries from Jerusalem to Compostela.* Secaucus, NJ, 1986.

Geary 1986
Geary, Patrick. "Sacred Commodities: The Circulation of Medieval Relics." In *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective.* Cambridge, 1986, pp. 169–191.

Geary 1990
Geary, Patrick J. *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages.* Rev. ed. Princeton, 1990.

Grabar 1958
Grabar, André. *Ampoules de terre sainte.* Paris, 1958.

Gregory of Tours, *Glory of the Confessors*
Gregory of Tours. *Glory of the Confessors.* Trans. Raymond Van Dam. Liverpool, 1988.

Gregory of Tours, *Glory of the Martyrs*
Gregory of Tours. *Glory of the Martyrs.* Trans. Raymond Van Dam. Liverpool, 1988.

Gregory of Tours, *History of the Franks*
Gregory of Tours. *The History of the Franks.* Trans. Lewis Thorpe. Harmondsworth, 1974.

Guibert of Nogent 1984
Guibert of Nogent. *Self and Society in Medieval France: The Memoirs of Abbot Guibert of Nogent.* Ed. John F. Benton. Toronto, 1984.

Hahn 1991
Hahn, Cynthia. "*Peregrinatio et Natio*: The Illustrated Life of Edmund, King and Martyr." *Gesta* 30 (1991), pp. 119–139.

Halbwachs 1992
Halbwachs, Maurice. *On Collective Memory.* Trans. and ed. Lewis A. Coser. Chicago, 1992.

Head 1984
Head, Thomas. "'I vow myself to be your servant': An Eleventh-Century Pilgrim, His Chronicler and His Saint." *Historical Reflections / Réflexions Historiques* 11 (1984), pp. 215–251.

Head 1990
Head, Thomas. *Hagiography and the Cult of Saints: The Diocese of Orléans, 800–1200.* Cambridge, 1990.

Hearn 1994
Hearn, M. F. "Canterbury Cathedral and the Cult of Becket." *Art Bulletin* 76 (1994), pp. 1952.

Herrmann-Mascard 1975
Herrmann-Mascard, Nicole. *Les reliques des saints: Formation coûtumière d'un droit.* Paris, 1975.

Hindman 1992
Hindman, Sandra. *Les Enluminures Moyen Age, Renaissance*, catalogue 1: *Enluminures, vellums, dessins du XIIe au XIXe siècle*. Paris, 1992.

Hubert 1974
Hubert, Jean. "Introibo ad altare." *Revue de l'art* 24 (1974), pp. 9–21.

Hunt 1981
Hunt, E. D. "The Traffic in Relics: Some Late Roman Evidence." In *The Byzantine Saint: University of Birmingham Fourteenth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies*. Birmingham, 1981, pp. 171–180.

Karp-Lavine 1991
Karp, Ivan, and Steven D. Lavine, eds. *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*. Washington, 1991.

Köster 1979
Köster, Kurt. "Kollektionen metallener Wallfahrts-Devotionalien und kleiner Andachtsbilder, eingenäht in spätmittelalterliche Gebetbuch-Handschriften." In Bertram Haller, ed., *Das Buch und sein Haus*, vol. 2: *Erlesenes aus der Welt des Buches*. Wiesbaden, 1979, pp. 77–130.

Küchler-Melion 1991
Küchler, Susanne, and Walter Melion, eds. *Images of Memory: On Remembering and Representation*. Washington, 1991.

Landes-Paupert 1991
Landes, Richard, and Catherine Paupert, eds. *Naissance d'apôtre: La vie de Saint Martial de Limoges*. Turnhout, 1991.

Lemaître 1990
Lemaitre, Nicole. "Des corps à voir et à toucher: Les reliques des paroisses du Rouergue (1524–1525)." In Jean Céard *et al.*, eds., *Le corps à la Renaissance: Actes du XXXe Colloque de Tours, 1987*. Paris, 1990, pp. 161–171.

Lesley 1939
Lesley, Parker. "An Echo of Early Christianity." *Art Quarterly* 2 (1939), pp. 214–232.

London 1984
English Romanesque Art 1066–1200. London, 1984.

London 1987
Age of Chivalry: Art in Plantagenet England 1200–1400. London, 1987.

Magoulias 1967
Magoulias, H. J. "The Lives of Byzantine Saints as Sources of Data for the History of Magic in the Sixth and Seventh Centuries A.D." *Sorcery, Relics and Icons*. *Byzantion* 37 (1967), pp. 228–269.

Netzer 1991
Netzer, Nancy. *Medieval Objects in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: Metalwork*. Boston, 1991.

Noble-Head 1995
Noble, Thomas F. X., and Thomas Head, eds. *Soldiers of Christ: Saints and Saints' Lives from Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*. University Park, Pa., 1995.

Nora 1984–1992
Nora, Pierre, ed. *Les lieux de mémoire*. 7 vols. Paris, 1984–1992.

Nora 1989
Nora, Pierre. "Between Memory and History: *Les Lieux de Mémoire*." *Representations* 26 (1989), pp. 7–25.

Ostoia 1969
Ostoia, Vera K. *The Middle Ages: Treasures from The Cloisters and The Metropolitan Museum of Art*. Los Angeles, 1969.

Ousterhout 1990
Ousterhout, Robert, ed. *The Blessings of Pilgrimage*. Urbana, 1990.

Paris 1992
Musée du Louvre (Paris). *Byzance: L'art byzantin dans les collections publiques françaises*. Paris, 1992.

Reinburg 1989
Reinburg, Virginia. "Les pèlerins de Notre-Dame du Puy." *Revue d'histoire de l'eglise de France* 75 (1989), pp. 297–313.

Representations 1989
"History and Memory." Special issue of *Representations* 26 (spring 1989).

Ross 1965
Ross, Marvin C. *Catalogue of the Byzantine and Early Mediaeval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection*, vol. 2: *Jewelry, Enamels, and Art of the Migration Period*. Washington, 1965.

Roy-Zumthor 1986
Roy, Bruno, and Paul Zumthor, eds. *Jeux de mémoire: Aspects de la mnémotechnie médievale*. Montréal, 1986.

Sandin 1993
Sandin, Karl. "Liturgy, Pilgrimage, and Devotion in Byzantine Objects." *Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts* 67 (1993), pp. 47–56.

Sédières 1975
Thomas Becket: Actes du Colloque International de Sédières, 19–24 août 1973. Paris, 1975.

Sigal 1976
Sigal, Pierre-André. "Les voyages de reliques aux XI et XIIe siècles." In *Voyage, quête, pelerinage dans la littérature et la civilisation médiévale*. Paris, 1976, pp. 75–104.

Solt 1987
Solt, Claire. "Romanesque French Reliquaries." *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, n.s., 9 (1987), pp. 167–236.

Tambiah 1984
Tambiah, Stanley Jeyaraja. *The Buddhist Saints of the Forest and the Cult of Amulets: A Study in Charisma, Hagiography, Sectarianism, and Millenial Buddhism*. Cambridge, 1984.

Taralon 1966
Taralon, Jean. *Treasures of the Churches of France*. New York, 1966.

Thomas 1991
Thomas, Nicholas. *Entangled Objects: Exchange, Material Culture, and Colonialism in the Pacific*. Cambridge, 1991.

Töpfer 1992
Töpfer, Bernhard. "The Cult of Relics and Pilgrimage in Burgundy and Aquitaine at the Time of the Monastic Reform." In Thomas Head and Richard Landes, eds., *The Peace of God: Social Violence and Religious Response in France Around the Year 1000*. Ithaca, 1992, pp. 41–57.

Van Dam 1993
Van Dam, Raymond. *Saints and Their Miracles in Late Antique Gaul*. Princeton, 1993.

Vatican 1982
The Vatican Collections: The Papacy and Art. New York, 1982.

Vikan 1982
Vikan, Gary. *Byzantine Pilgrimage Art*. Washington, 1982.

Vikan 1984
Vikan, Gary. "Art, Medicine, and Magic in Early Byzantium." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 38 (1984), pp. 65–86.

Wainwright 1989
Wainwright, Clive. *The Romantic Interior: The British Collector at Home, 1750–1850*. New Haven, 1989.

Westermann-Angerhausen 1987
Westermann-Angerhausen, Hiltrud. "Spolie und Umfeld in Egberts Trier." *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 50 (1987), pp. 305–336.

Wixom 1967
Wixom, William D. *Treasures from Medieval France*. Cleveland, 1967.

Wixom 1992
Wixom, William D. "*In quanto scrinio de Cupro*, A Copper Reliquary Chest Attributed to Canterbury: Style, Iconography, and Patronage." In *The Cloisters: Studies in Honor of the Fiftieth Anniversary*. New York, 1992, pp. 194–227.

Yates 1966
Yates, Frances A. *The Art of Memory*. London, 1966.

Unde et Memores, Domine: Memory and The Mass of St. Gregory

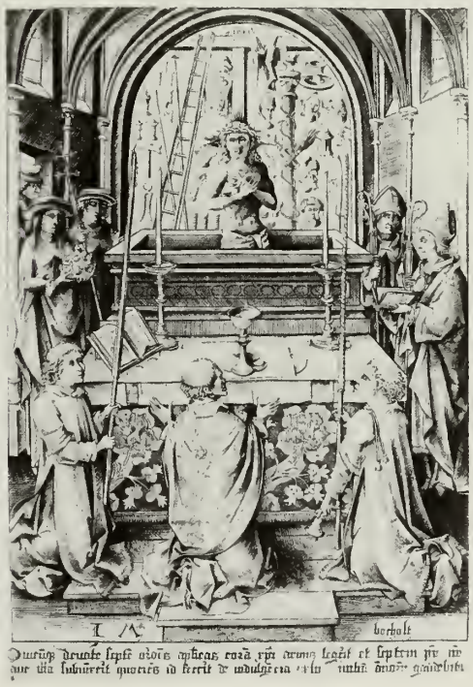
Patricia DeLeeuw

Medieval people knew that they lived at a particular point in the flow of time, as if they were on a raft floating for a short distance on a river which ran from its source in the creation of the world by God to its end at the end of the world.[1] The events of the Old Testament and the life, death, and resurrection of Christ occurred at earlier points in the flow of the river. The Christian story taught medieval people to find meaning and purpose for their lives by looking back to events they recalled and forward to events they hoped for, or dreaded. Christian belief and practice, in the stories of the saints as exemplars of the moral life, in devotions and indulgences, and in the ritual of the mass, provided ways to remember and learn from the past, and to provide for the future.

The great Christian philosopher of time and of memory St. Augustine brought the views of Aristotle, Cicero, and especially Plato and Plotinus, to Christianity and the middle ages.[2] Augustine always saw time in contrast to the eternity of God, which rendered it relatively unimportant. In fact, of the three "times" of which we are accustomed to speak, past, present, and future, only the present exists; the past and the future must be brought to the present to have any existence for us. The legacy of Augustine to medieval notions of time was essentially ambivalent: time has great significance as the vehicle for human salvation, while time has reality only in the mind that measures it.

For Augustine, "memory ... is the present of things past."[3] The term *memoria* meant far more to Augustine and medieval thinkers than "memory" does to modern psychology. It is, first of all, a storehouse filled with items from our own knowledge and sensory experience. Moreover, in the memories of the faithful, God has placed the knowledge of God, which prayer and the reading of Scripture can help us to recall. The images stored in memory have a reality, which, like memory itself, is not inferior to that which we can see and touch. Like Plotinus, Augustine believes that through the mind, through memory, we can reach transcendence and God.

These ideas of Augustine imbued all subsequent Christian thinkers and had a special resurgence in the late middle ages. Unlike the more skeptical thinkers of the *via moderna*, who were confident that experience could be relied on and who fostered a new interest in experimentation to achieve certainty, those who held to the *via antiqua* taught that what we are mindful of, what exists in memory, has a greater reality than the jumble of sense perceptions that crowd in upon us.[4] The *via antiqua* looked upon memory as the capacity of the soul to know and think about the



no. 27

Mass of Saint Gregory
Israhel van Meckenem, c. 1450-1503
Germany, c. 1480
engraving on paper
Fogg Art Museum,
Harvard University Art Museums,
William M. Prichard Fund,
acc. no. M 655

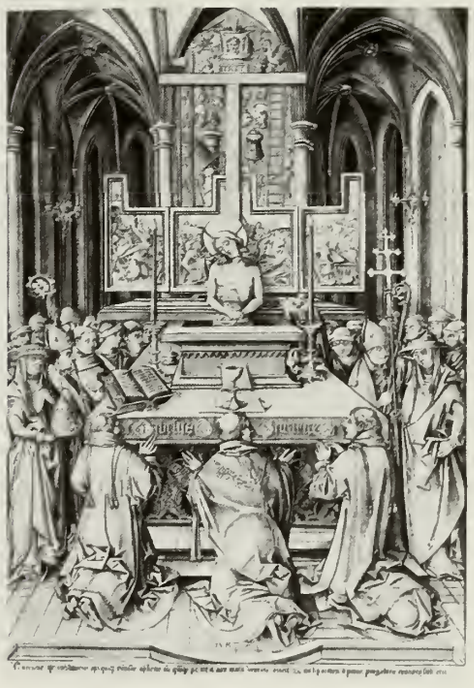


fig. 14

Mass of Saint Gregory
Israhel van Meckenem, c. 1450-1503
Germany, c. 1480
engraving on paper
Fogg Art Museum,
Harvard University Art Museums,
Gray Collection of Engravings Fund,
acc. no. G4830

no. 26

Ma[illegible] of Saint Gregory
Simon Marmion, active
1449-1489
France, c. 1460-1465
oil [illegible]d gold leaf on panel
Art Gallery of Ontario,
Toronto, Purchase 1979

purpose of human existence and its salvation, using not only what our human existence has taught us, but depending even more on a kind of induction of God's truth by faith. It is this memory that leads us to God.

The language of art was more powerful for medieval people than the language of words and understood by them in ways we can no longer experience.[5] Religious images they saw in churches or in books reinforced the lessons they learned from priests' sermons, and invited them to prayer. And, according to Augustine, as we have seen, prayer recalls the image of God. For those who could meditate on one of the most popular images of the late middle ages, the *Mass of St. Gregory,* and recall what it taught about the meaning of the mass, the real presence of Christ on the altar, and the hope of salvation that Christ's death ensured for them, the truth found in memory took on reality.

According to a story invented and popularized in the late middle ages, as Pope Gregory the Great (c. 540-604) elevated the host at the consecration of mass one day, Christ the Man of Sorrows appeared on the altar surrounded by the instruments of his passion. Called the *Mass of St. Gregory*, this story captivated late medieval artists who portrayed the miracle in every medium.[6] Many of the painters and printmakers who represented this legend inscribed their work with an explanation of an indulgence said to have been granted by a Pope Clement to those who prayed before a representation of the miracle (nos. 26 and 27, fig. 14), but the image did not require papal approbation and promotion to become popular. The *Mass of St. Gregory* was so often portrayed because in a single artistic image, it captures a wealth of medieval ideas about the central celebration of the Christian faith. It shows a pope, the highest of priests, and not just any pope, but the one among all others most known to succeeding centuries for his attention to pastoral care and the liturgy, saying mass. All in the church await the moment in the mass that is transformed, the moment that God is there on the altar. And in the image, God does not hide in the bread and wine, but is revealed in Christ.

In the earliest versions of this story, as, for example, the one preserved in the *Legenda aurea* of the thirteenth century, Christ appeared as a finger at the time of the communion.[7] By the fifteenth century, however, when devotion to the human, suffering Jesus was at its height, and when the story was first portrayed in art,[8] Jesus the Man of Sorrows was present and visible, his suffering and death recalled at the time of the consecration. Although this development of the legend is perfectly congruent with the

fig. 15

Mass of Saint Gregory
Paris, c. 1490
woodcut and watercolor
on paper
National Gallery of Art,
Rosenwald Collection,
© 1994 Board of Trustees,
acc. no. 1943.3.611

no. 28

Mass of Saint Gregory
Albrecht Dürer, 1471-1528
Germany, 1511
woodcut on paper
National Gallery of Art,
Rosenwald Collection,
© 1994 Board of Trustees,
acc. no. 1943.3673

no. 29

Censer
N. Italy or Alps,
12th-early 13th century
latten
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston,
H.E. Bolles Fund,
acc. no. 67.292

no. 30

Chalice
Northern Europe,
mid-14th century
gilding on silver
Sharon and Neil Phillips/
Phillips Family Collection

changing *foci* of late medieval piety, its sources still generate debate. In some late medieval versions, the location of the miracle is specified: Gregory was saying mass at the church of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme when Christ appeared.[9] A Byzantine mosaic icon of Christ the *Man of Sorrows* in Santa Croce was believed to have been commissioned by Gregory himself to commemorate the miracle, but recent scholarship dates the icon to the thirteenth or early fourteenth century, and its acquisition by the Carthusians at Santa Croce to the late fourteenth century. Representations of the *Man of Sorrows* had long been popular in the West, but the Carthusians' acquisition of the Byzantine icon coincides with the first appearance of the *Mass of St. Gregory* in northern European art.[10] It is possible that the Carthusians actively promoted the story to increase the number of pilgrims who visited their church while in Rome.

Whatever its sources, the image of the *Mass of St. Gregory* would have made its lesson very clear: the effect of the mass is to transform time. In the miracle story, for those attending that particular mass said by Pope Gregory in the church of Santa Croce, the present became a past time, the time when Christ suffered and died. But, in this transformation, as portrayed by fifteenth- and sixteenth-century artists, the faithful were not taken to Jerusalem. Rather, an event that had occurred in Jerusalem centuries earlier came from the past to them, into their church, onto their altar. Augustine's notions of the workings of memory are neatly illustrated in the picture of the legend.

The conventions that many artists who represented the *Mass of St. Gregory* observed underline this idea of past brought into present: in the pictures, the people watching the miracle are dressed like their late medieval descendants, and the designs of the churches in which they gather and the liturgical vessels on the altar belong to the late middle ages (figs. 14 and 15, nos. 27 and 28; nos. 29, 30, 31 and 32). The faithful who meditated on this image were reminded that every mass, even those said in their parish churches, recalled the life of Christ and brought that life to them. As some of them may have been taught, and all in some way understood, the prayer the priest says immediately after changing the bread and the wine into the body and blood of Christ summarizes this belief: "*Unde et memores, Domine,*" it begins, "*nos servi tui, sed et plebs tua sancta, ejusdem Christi Filii tui Domini nostri tam beatae passionis, necnon et ab inferis resurrectionis, sed et in caelos gloriosae ascensionis...;*" "we are mindful, Lord, we your servants and your holy people, of the passion of our Lord Christ your Son, of his resurrection from the dead, and his glorious ascension into heaven...."

The *Mass of St. Gregory* portrays ideas typical of medieval interpretations of the mass. Since Amalarius of Metz's influential *Liber officialis* from the ninth century, medieval commentaries had explained the mass as one long allegory that, in its entirety, re-creates the life, death, and resurrection of Christ.[11] During the first part, the mass of the catechumens, the prayers from the *Introit* through the epistle represent Old Testament promises of the coming of the Savior and the early life of Christ, while the gospel brings us the words of Christ in his adult ministry. The mass of the faithful, beginning with the offertory, focuses on the last week of Christ's life, his resurrection and ascension. The *Sanctus* recalls the triumphant entry into Jerusalem on Palm Sunday; during the canon, before, during, and after the consecration, the priest acts as Christ during his passion, death, and burial; the prayers and action of the priest and people from the *Pater Noster* through the communion to the *Ite missa est* conclude Christ's life on earth and send us off to do God's will and await his coming again.

In the commentaries, as in the ritual of the mass as it was experienced by medieval people, the apex of the drama comes in the middle, at the consecration. With the heightened devotion to the eucharist, beginning in the late twelfth century, came the custom of the elevation of the host and cup after the words of consecration, and the ringing of the bells by an acolyte. These actions would have very dramatically interrupted the priest's silent whispering of the canon prayers. The attention of the congregants would have been drawn to the fulfillment of the mass as they understood it and the moment for which they had come: the re-creation of the death of Christ, and the real presence of his body on the altar. As they watched the priest, they remembered the events of the passion, and this mindfulness, described in the prayer the priest whispered after the consecration, gave the events remembered a particular reality. The representations of the *Mass of St. Gregory* portray this reality: the altar at which the priest stands, and on which the body of Christ in the host and wine rests, has become the tomb in which his body rested after his death.

Extended interpretations of the mass written in the late middle ages rely less on allegory and more on scholastic theology. One such commentary, written at the time of the immense popularity of the *Mass of St. Gregory,* was the *Canonis Missae Expositio* of Gabriel Biel. A man of the German universities, Biel trained at Heidelberg, Erfurt, and Cologne in the first half of the fifteenth century, and taught theology at Tübingen in the latter half, where he was noted as a proponent of the *via antiqua.* He was also a member of the Brethren of the Common Life, however, and a skilled preacher. His *Expositio* is a work of pastoral theology standing halfway between the university lecture hall, where the *lectiones* into which the *Expositio* is divided were delivered, and the pulpit, where, in the urban centers of the fifteenth

no. 31

Chalice
Flanders, 15th century
gilding and enamel on silver
Sharon and Neil Phillips/
Phillips Family Collection

no. 32

Pyx
Limoges, 13th century
enamel, gilding and garnet
insets on copper
Sharon and Neil Phillips/
Phillips Family Collection

century, eloquent and learned sermons were now rather common. The printed copy of the *Expositio* included in the exhibition has but one illustration (no. 33), the moment of the elevation of the host.

In his lecture on the prayer *Unde et memores*, Biel tells his listeners that when they are mindful of the passion at the consecration of the mass, they participate in, and are "incorporated" with, the body and blood of Christ; he quotes the gospel of John 6:57, "Whoever eats my flesh and drinks my blood will remain in me and I in him." The passion, he tells them, is called "blessed" in the prayer because only through Christ's suffering and death do the gates of heaven, closed since the beginning of the world, open to them.[12] That promise of eventual celestial bliss, to which we have access through the salvific death of Christ, is echoed in the innovative version of the *Mass of St. Gregory* by Albrecht Dürer (no. 28). Unlike most other versions, in which the artist takes great care to preserve the architectural detail that surrounds the altar, Dürer leaves open to the sky the church in which the miracle occurs. His placement of the ladder that was used to remove the body of Christ from the cross, one among the instruments of the passion that can be found in many versions of the *Mass of St. Gregory*, is also rather unusual: it rises from the altar directly in front of the Pope, inviting him to participate with Christ in an *imitatio Christi*.[13]

In the life and other writings of Gabriel Biel, we can see Augustinian theology distilled and disseminated from the pulpit of the cathedral at Mainz where, for a time, Biel was official preacher. His preaching affected not only those who heard him; sermon collections of well-known preachers like Biel were often printed to be used as models by other preachers or for the edification of individual readers. In Biel's sermons and those of other noted preachers of the day throughout Europe, the meaning of the mass as a reenactment of the life of Christ and the significance of the words of the consecration in bringing that life to us are frequent themes.[14] In sermons about the mass and the eucharist, which often return to the old allegorical interpretations of the priest's actions, his vestments and the liturgical vessels, illuminating their dramatic qualities, the mass becomes a passion play. In defense of the doctrines of transubstantiation and the real presence, now increasingly under attack, Catholic preachers were especially eloquent in their emphasis on the mass as a continuation of Christ's actual sacrifice on the cross. As one might expect, sermons preached during Holy Week, especially Maundy Thursday, focused on the identity between the body of Christ that suffered on the cross and the body of Christ present on the altar. This idea is illustrated most clearly in those versions of the *Mass of St. Gregory* in which blood from the side of the suffering Jesus actually spurts into the chalice on the altar in front of the priest, as in the illustration of the legend (no. 34) in the early sixteenth-century lectionary of the epistles of the monastery of Guadalupe.[15]

The feast of *Corpus Christi*, like the story of the *Mass of St. Gregory*, both resulted from and furthered late medieval eucharistic devotion. Established in France in the thirteenth century, becoming universal in the fourteenth century, the special feast was inspired by popular devotion to the real presence of the suffering Jesus in the eucharist.[16] The *Corpus Christi* liturgies, a mass, an office, and hymns, emphasize the connection between the transubstantiated bread and wine, and the suffering and death of Christ that gives us life. By the early fourteenth century, the typical celebration of the feast included a procession of clergy and laity singing the hymns and carrying and displaying the eucharist. The addition of *Corpus Christi* prayers and readings into missals, lectionaries, antiphonaries, and breviaries provided illuminators with a new subject, for which they chose from among familiar images: the Last Supper, Christ as a priest, a procession, the elevation of the host at the mass, and the *Mass of St. Gregory*. In Italy, in the late fifteenth century, Maestro dei Lattanzio Riccardiano illuminated the antiphons for the feast of *Corpus Christi* with an illustration of a priest elevating the host in an initial capital (no. 35). The illuminator of the sixteenth-century lectionary of the epistles of the monastery of Guadalupe in Spain placed an image of the *Mass of St. Gregory* at the readings for *Corpus Christi*. The picture includes a monstrance, used to carry and display the host in Corpus Christi processions, among the liturgical vessels on the altar (no. 34).

The image of the *Mass of St. Gregory* was a popular focus for devotion in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries because it represented and reinforced widespread ideas about the mass and the eucharist, and reflected popular notions of the way memory could disrupt time. The story was portrayed in a variety of media in small renderings that might have been owned by lay people. A review of some of these renderings not only indicates the popularity of the legend, the devotions it evoked, and the beliefs that it reinforced, but also demonstrates how works of art of the later middle ages had begun to be available to ordinary people.

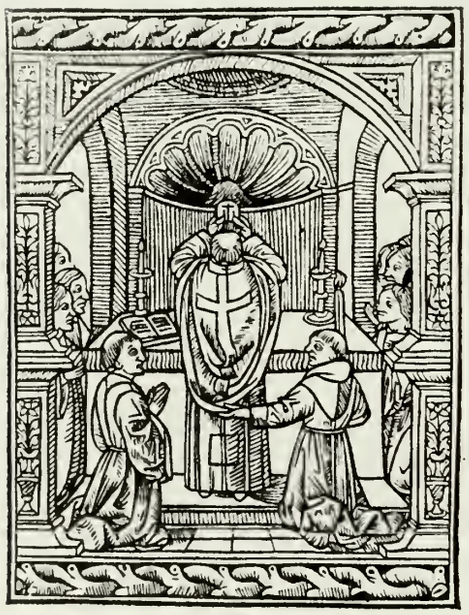
The fifteenth-century French artist Simon Marmion portrayed the *Mass of St. Gregory* in a panel painting (no. 26), whose relatively small size may be an indication that it was not intended for display in a public church.[17] Marmion's patrons included members of the nobility of several countries; perhaps one of them had commissioned it for private devotion. Marmion places the Pope in a small chapel, identified in the inscription as

the Pantheon, where Christ shows himself to him with only an acolyte looking on. One can imagine the panel hanging in the chapel of a castle, reminding the noble residents of the meaning of the masses said there, and offering them the benefit of the indulgence that Marmion describes in his inscription.

Early in the sixteenth century in the Netherlands an artisan rendered the story of Christ's appearance at Pope Gregory's mass in a rosary bead (no. 36).[18] The bead joins the *Mass of St. Gregory* in its top scene with the Virgin of the Rosary in the bottom, a fitting juxtaposition in light of the frequent use of rosaries by medieval congregants at mass. Reciting the prayers of the rosary engaged them in activity while the priest, his back to them, was busy with his whispered Latin prayers on the altar.[19] Both halves of the bead bear inscriptions inside and out; those that accompany the *Mass of St. Gregory* are texts from the gospel of John (3:16, *Sic deus dilexit mundum*; 15:13, *Maiorem hac caritatem nemo habet*), which underscore the salvific purpose of the death of Christ.

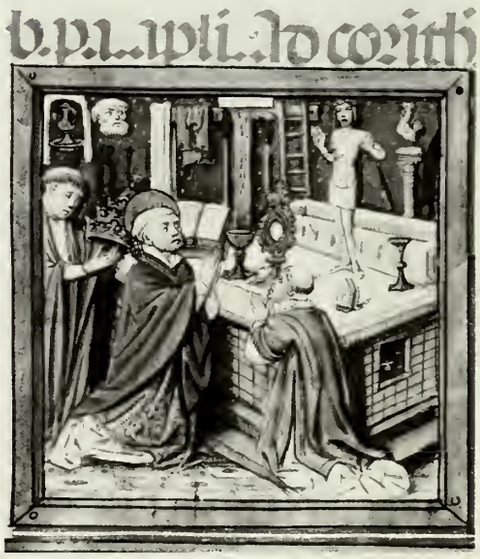
Many lay people of the late middle ages were wealthy enough to own their own devotional books, which might have included representations of the *Mass of St. Gregory*. Books of Hours were the book most abundant, from the late thirteenth century in manuscript and then from the late fifteenth century in printed editions.[20] Their appearance coincided with the spread of devotions typical of the period and arising from the new focus on the humanity of Jesus; the centerpiece of the typical Book of Hours is the Hours of the Virgin, a series of readings and prayers dedicated to Mary, the mother of Jesus, to be recited at the canonical hours of the monastic office. While the majority of Books of Hours were simple and mass-produced, those composed for the nobility or very prosperous citizens of towns were lavishly decorated. Most often the illustrator of a Book of Hours is anonymous, although there are clues in the work to the artist's background. The illuminator who painted the *Mass of St. Gregory* in this English Book of Hours (no. 37) was probably French, while the artist who painted the extravagant borders was English.[21] In very rare instances we know the names of the illuminators of particularly beautiful books. Jean Colombe, for example, is best known as having worked on one of the most famous of the extant Books of Hours, the *Très Riches Heures,* for the Duke of Berry in the late fifteenth century. Colombe worked on other Books of Hours commissioned by his many wealthy patrons, one of which included a *Mass of St. Gregory* (no. 38).[22]

Some of the most famous surviving representations of the *Mass of St. Gregory* are prints. From the mid-fifteenth century when paper became plentiful and printing presses were estab-



no. 33

Elevation of Host
Canonis Missae Expositio
Gabriel Biel, c. 1410–1495
Lyon, 1528
printed on paper
Burns Library, Boston College,
16F B43, fol. 1v



no. 34

Mass of Saint Gregory
Lectionary of the Epistles
Spain, Guadalupe,
October 6, 1506
manuscript on vellum
Houghton Library,
Harvard University,
Gift of Philip Hofer,
Class of '21, fMS Typ 199

no. 36

Rosary Bead with Mass of Saint Gregory
South Netherlands, c. 1500-1510
boxwood
Smith College Museum of Art, Northampton, Mass., acc. no. 1991:23

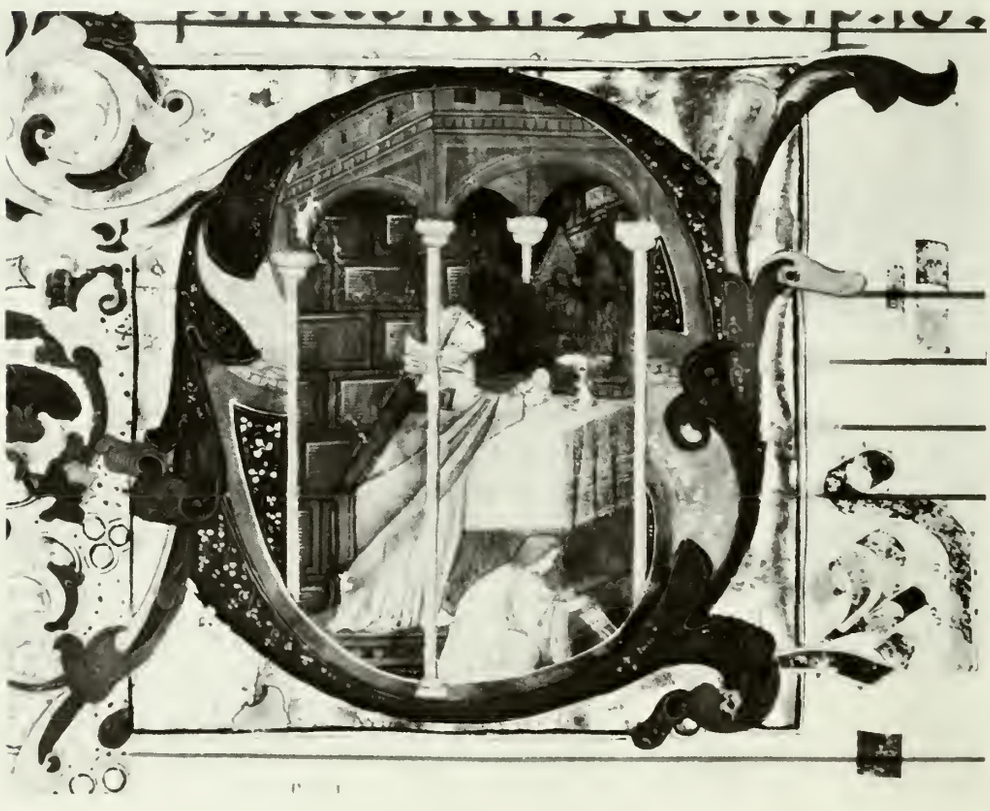
no. 38

Mass of Saint Gregory
Jean Colombe, c. 1435-1498
Bourges, c. 1485
gold and tempera on vellum
Illuminations, Chicago

lished in cities throughout Europe, even people of modest circumstances might own a book or a picture. The first printed pictures were woodcuts; like the earliest printed books, most had religious themes and their style was determined by artistic conventions established in other media.[23] The figures in a late fifteenth-century Parisian woodcut of the *Mass of St. Gregory* (fig. 15) wear the flowing robes of the late Gothic, and the anonymous artist includes the architectural detail that earlier illustrations had made traditional. Huge printings of some early woodcuts were sold by peddlers or at pilgrimage centers; they could be tacked or fixed to a wall with wax, or carried about. Woodcuts, which could be printed with the page, were first used to illustrate books in the 1490s. Albrecht Dürer, one of the greatest of early printmakers, made many woodcuts for books, and, later in his life, in series to be printed and bound with or without text. His *Mass of St. Gregory* (no. 28) belongs to one of these series, and as we have seen, a mark of its greatness is its break with convention.[24]

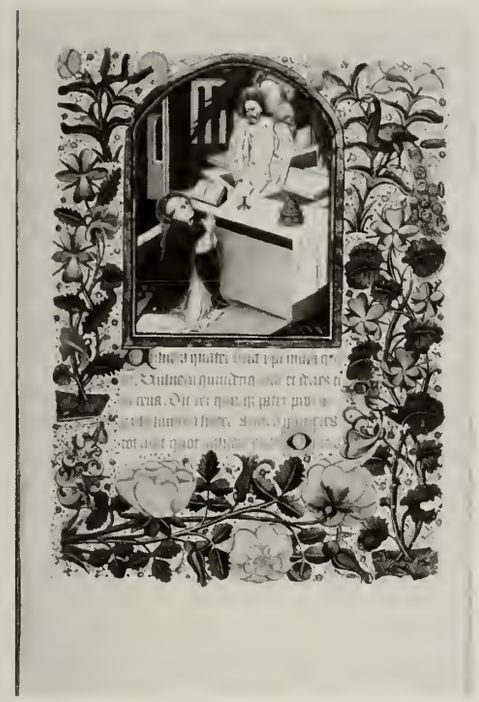
Engraved prints of the *Mass of St. Gregory* survive in greater numbers, though they were more expensive and not so readily made. They are usually signed or attributable to a particular artist, among them one of the most prolific of the engravers of the late fifteenth century, Israhel Van Meckenem.[25] The detail of the Van Meckenem print included in this exhibition (no. 27), from the arches of the apse behind the altar of the German Gothic hall church to the crowd of German burghers and clergy looking on, brings the story of Pope Gregory's miracle and the presence of Christ in his passion to the time of the viewer, which, after all, is the lesson of the *Mass of St. Gregory*.[26]

The doctrine of the real presence and the interpretation of the mass as a reenactment of Christ's sacrifice on the cross neither disappeared with the middle ages nor diminished in significance over time, of course, but continued in Catholic theology. The abundant representations of the *Mass of St. Gregory*, however, attests to the particular impact of these doctrines in the late middle ages. Those who viewed the image during the few centuries of its popularity understood that mindfulness, the special act of remembering that they were asked to perform during mass, brought a present reality to the event remembered, the salvific death of Christ.



no. 35

Mass
Leaf from an Antiphonary
Maestro dei Lattanzio Riccardiano
Florence, 1450–1500
tempera and gold leaf on parchment
Metropolitan Museum of Art,
Bequest of Louis L. Lorillard, 1896,
acc. no. 96.32.8



no. 37

Mass of Saint Gregory
Hours of the Virgin
England, c. 1440
manuscript on vellum
The Pierpont Morgan Library,
MS Glazier 9, fol. 67r

Notes

[1] Whitrow 1988, pp. 80-82.

[2] On Augustine and time, see especially Jordan 1972; Quinn 1969.

[3] On Augustine and memory, see Coleman 1992, pp. 80-111; Carruthers 1990, p. 199; Mourant 1980; Gilson 1960, p. 299 n. 110.

[4] Coleman 1992, pp. 465-499 and 538-547.

[5] An old idea given new and eloquent life in Constable 1990. I am indebted to my colleague Professor Virginia Reinburg for bringing this essay to my attention. See also Miles 1985, pp. 5-9.

[6] The *Mass of St. Gregory* was "endlessly reproduced" in the late middle ages; see Duffy 1992, p. 239; Reinburg 1992, pp. 535-537 and 542. On the variety of representations of the legend in the late middle ages, see especially Westfehling 1982; Réau 1958, pp. 614-616; Schiller 1972, vol. 2, pp. 226-228; Endres 1917.

[7] Jacobus de Voragine *The Golden Legend*, vol. 1, pp. 179-180. The story appears first in the biography of Gregory written at the monastery of Whitby in the eighth century; see Gasquet 1904, pp. 24-26, where the finger is described as "sanguilenti."

[8] Westfehling 1982, p. 16.

[9] This location is occasionally confused with other Roman churches; see below, no. 26, where the painter Simon Marmion locates the miracle in the Pantheon.

[10] Bertelli 1967, pp. 46-52.

[11] In an essay on "The Mass as Sacred Drama" in Hardison 1965, pp. 35-79, O. B. Hardison connects the *Mass of St. Gregory* with medieval mass commentaries, especially that of Amalarius of Metz; see also Schnusenberg 1988; Jungmann 1950, vol. 1, pp. 87-118; De Lubac 1949, pp. 301-312.

[12] Biel *Canonis Missae Expositio*, Lectio LIV, vol 2, pp. 336-338.

[13] On the iconography of Dürer's 1511 woodcut of the *Mass of St. Gregory*, see Strauss 1980, p. 160.

[14] Massa 1966, esp. pp. 80-95; Taylor 1992, pp. 135-137; Blench 1964; Spencer 1993; O'Malley 1979, p. 167.

[15] Wieck 1983, p. 50.

[16] Rubin 1991, pp. 164-287.

[17] Unlike Marmion's more famous, and larger, Saint Bertin altarpiece; see Thomas Kren's review of Marmion's biography in his Introduction to Kren 1992, p. 21; on the painting, see Ainsworth 1992, pp. 248-249.

[18] Blumka II 1990; Romanelli 1992.

[19] A practice recommended by some late medieval proponents of the rosary; see William 1953, p. 48 and Klinkhammer 1972, pp. 86-90.

[20] Wieck 1988, p. 27.

[21] Plummer 1959, pp. 23-24.

[22] *Les Enluminures*, p. 66.

[23] Griffiths 1980, pp. 16-18; Mayor 1971.

[24] Hutchison 1990, pp. 106-107

[25] Mayor 1971, illus. 138-140; see also Field 1985. Van Meckenem's representations of the *Mass of St. Gregory* are described in Lehrs 1934, vol. 9, nos. 345-354, pp. 282-290. His engraving of the *Man of Sorrows* attests to the connection between the Santa Croce mosaic and the *Mass of St. Gregory*; see Bertelli 1967, p. 40 and Schiller 1972, vol. 2, pp. 199-200.

[26] Lehrs 1934, no. 353, pp. 288-289.

Abbreviations

Ainsworth 1992
Ainsworth, Maryan W. "New Observations on the Working Technique in Simon Marmion's Panel Paintings," *Margaret of York, Simon Marmion, and the Visions of Tondal*. Malibu, 1992. pp. 243-255.

Bertelli 1967
Bertelli, Carlo. "The Image of Pity in Santa Croce in Gerusalemme," *Essays in the History of Art Presented to Rudolf Wittkower*. London, 1967, pp. 40-56.

Biel *Canonis Missae Expositio*
Gabriels Biel Canonis Missae Expositio. ed. Heiko A. Oberman and William J. Courtenay. 5 vols. Wiesbaden, 1963-1976.

Blench 1964
Blench, J.W. *Preaching in England in the Late Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*. New York, 1964.

Blumka II 1990
Blumka, Anthony, ed. *Medieval Masterworks, 1200-1500*. New York, 1990.

Carruthers 1990
Carruthers, Mary J. *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*. Cambridge, 1990.

Coleman 1992
Coleman, Janet. *Ancient and Medieval Memories: Studies in the Reconstruction of the Past*. Cambridge, 1992.

Constable 1990
Constable, Giles. "A Living Past: The Historical Environment of the Middle Ages," *Harvard Library Bulletin*, n.s.1 (1990) pp. 49-70.

Duffy 1992
Duffy, Eamon. *The Stripping of the Altars. Traditional Religion in England, 1400-1580*. New Haven, 1992.

De Lubac 1949
De Lubac, Henri. *Corpus mysticum: L'eucharistie et l'église au moyen âge*. Paris, 1949.

Endres 1917
Endres, J.A. "Die Darstellung der Gregoriusmesse im Mittelalter," *Zeitschrift fur christliche Kunst* 30 (1917), pp. 146-160.

Les Enluminures
Hindman, Sandra, ed. *Les Enluminures: Enluminures, Velins, Dessins du XII^e au XVII^e siecle*. Paris, 1992.

Field 1985
Field, Richard S., Louise S. Richards, and Alan Shestack eds. *A Census of Fifteenth-Century Prints in Public Collection of the United States and Canada*. New Haven, 1985.

Gasquet 1904
Gasquet F.A. *A Life of Pope St. Gregory the Great, Written by a Monk of the Monastery of Whitby*. Westminster, 1904.

Gilson 1960
Gilson, Etienne. *The Christian Philosophy of St. Augustine*. trans. L. Lynch. New York, 1960.

Griffiths 1980
Griffiths, Antony. *Prints and Printmaking: An Introduction to the History and Techniques*. London, 1980.

Hardison 1965
Hardison, O.B. *Christian Rite and Christian Drama in the Middle Ages*. Baltimore, 1965.

Hutchison 1990
Hutchison, Jane Campbell. *Albrecht Durer: A Biography*. Princeton, 1990.

Jacobus de Voragine *The Golden Legend*
Voragine, Jacobus de. *The Golden Legend*. trans. William Granger Ryan. 2 vols. Princeton, 1993.

Jordan 1972
Jordan, Robert. "Time and Contingency in St. Augustine," *Augustine: A Collection of Critical Essays*. ed. R.A. Markus. Modern Studies in Philosophy, 13. New York, 1972, pp. 255-279.

Jungmann 1950
Jungmann, S.J., Joseph. *The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and Development*. trans. Francis A. Brunner, C.SS.R. 2 vols. New York, 1950.

Klinkhammer 1972
Klinkhammer, S.J., Karl Joseph. *Adolf von Essen und seine Werke*. Frankfurt a.M., 1972.

Kren 1992
Kren, Thomas, ed. *Margaret of York, Simon Marmion, and the Visions of Tondal*. Malibu, 1992.

Lehrs 1934
Lehrs, Max. *Geschichte und kritischer Katalog des deutschen, niederländischen und französischen Kupferstichs im XV. Jahrhundert*. 9 vols. Vienna, 1908-1934.

Massa 1966
Massa, Willi, SVD. *Die Eucharistie Predigt am Vorabend der Reformation*, Veröffentlichungen des Missionspriesterseminars St. Augustin, Siegburg Nr. 15. Steyl, 1966.

Mayor 1971
Mayor, A. Hyatt. *Prints and People: A Social History of Printed Pictures*. New York, 1971.

Miles 1985
Miles, Margaret. *Image as Insight: Visual Understanding in Western Christianity and Secular Culture*. Boston, 1985.

Mourant 1980
Mourant, John A. *St. Augustine on Memory*. The St. Augustine Lecture, 1979. Villanova, 1980.

O'Malley 1979
O'Malley, John W., S.J. *Praise and Blame in Renaissance Rome: Rhetoric, Doctrine, and Reform in the Sacred Orators of the Papal Court, c. 1450-1521*. Durham, 1979.

Plummer 1959
Plummer, John, ed. *Manuscripts from the William S. Glazier Collection*. New York, 1959.

Quinn 1969
Quinn, John M. "The Concept of Time in St. Augustine," *Studies in Philosophy and the History of Philosophy*, 4. Washington, D.C., 1969, pp. 75-127.

Réau 1958
Réau, Louis. *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*. Paris, 1958.

Reinburg 1992
Reinburg, Virginia. "Liturgy and the Laity in Late Medieval and Reformation France," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 23 (1992), pp. 526-547.

Romanelli 1992
Romanelli, Susan Jean. *South Netherlandish Boxwood Devotional Sculpture, 1475-1530*. unpubl. diss. Columbia University.

Rubin 1991
Rubin, Miri. *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture*. Cambridge, 1991.

Schiller 1972
Schiller, Gertrud. *Iconography of Christian Art*. trans. Janet Seligman. 2 vols. Greenwich, 1972.

Schnusenberg 1988
Schnusenberg, Christine C. *The Relationship between the Church and the Theater Exemplified by Selected Writings of the Church Fathers and by Liturgical Texts until Amalarius of Metz (775-852 A.D.)*. Lanham, 1988.

Spencer 1993
Spencer, H. Leith. *English Preaching in the Late Middle Ages*. Oxford, 1993.

Strauss 1980
Strauss, Walter L., ed. *The Woodcuts and Woodblocks of Albrecht Dürer*. New York, 1980.

Taylor 1992
Taylor, Larissa. *Soldiers of Christ: Preaching in Late Medieval and Reformation France*. Oxford, 1992.

Westfehling 1982
Westfehling, Uwe, ed. *Die Messe Gregors des Grossen: Vision, Künst, Realität. Katalog und Führer zu einer Ausstellung im Schnütgen-Museum der Stadt Köln*. Cologne, 1982.

Wieck 1983
Wieck, Roger S. *Late Medieval and Renaissance Illuminated Manuscripts, 1350-1525, in the Houghton Library*. Cambridge, 1983.

Wieck 1988
Wieck, Roger S., ed. *Time Sanctified: The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life*. New York, 1988.

William 1953
William, Franz Michel. *The Rosary: Its History and Meaning*. trans. Edwin Kaiser, C.PP.S. New York, 1953.

Whitrow 1988
Whitrow, G.J. *Time in History*. Oxford, 1988.

"The Captivity of Jerusalem That Is In Sepharad": Alienation, Exile, and Memory in Sephardic Spain

Dwayne E. Carpenter

"It's just what I should have expected," said Mr. Hawley, mounting his horse. "Any cursed alien blood, Jew, Corsican, or Gypsy."

George Eliot, *Middlemarch*[1]

There is a poignant scene at the conclusion of Sholem Aleichem's late-nineteenth century classic, *Tevye der Milkhiger*, in which the Russian authorities exile the inhabitants of humble Anatevka. In the 1960s musical adaptation, *Fiddler on the Roof*, as the camera pauses to probe the villagers' forlorn faces, anonymous voices intone the plaintive melody "Soon I'll be a stranger in a strange new place, searching for an old familiar face." And moving backward in time from the somber strangers of czarist Russia to the patriarch of wanderers, we encounter the Bible's first mention of "stranger."[2] Abram, soon to be known as Abraham, receives from God the dual promise of countless descendants and a land for them to possess [Gen. 15:5-7]. Words of dire portent follow this proclamation, however, as God solemnly declares: "Know well that your offspring shall be strangers in a land not theirs, and they shall be enslaved and oppressed four hundred years" [Gen. 15:13].[3] According to rabbinic tradition, this presage of Jewish alienation began with the very next generation, that is, with the birth of Isaac.[4] Thus it is that from the inception of Jewish history the promise of existence has been inextricably linked to the portent of exile.

Exile is in turn joined to the problem of the stranger, for it is often the calamity of exile that heralds the calumny of difference. Once again the biblical narrative provides eloquent testimony. Immediately after the thunderous theophany at Sinai, the children of Israel listened as Moses set forth a catalogue of precepts (Hebrew *mishpatim*) to be observed by the fractious multitudes, only recently freed from Egyptian bondage. Within this legislative agenda, we find the following statute: "You shall not wrong a stranger or oppress him, for you were strangers in the land of Egypt" [Ex. 22:20], an injunction later and more elaborately formulated in Leviticus 19:33-34: "When a stranger resides with you in your land, you shall not wrong him. The stranger who resides with you shall be to you as one of your citizens; you shall love him as yourself, for you were strangers in the land of Egypt: I the Lord am your God."[5]

no. 39

Haggadah Leaf
Iberian peninsula or Constantinople, c. 1515
printed on paper
Jewish Theological Seminary, New York, MIC 5637

no. 40

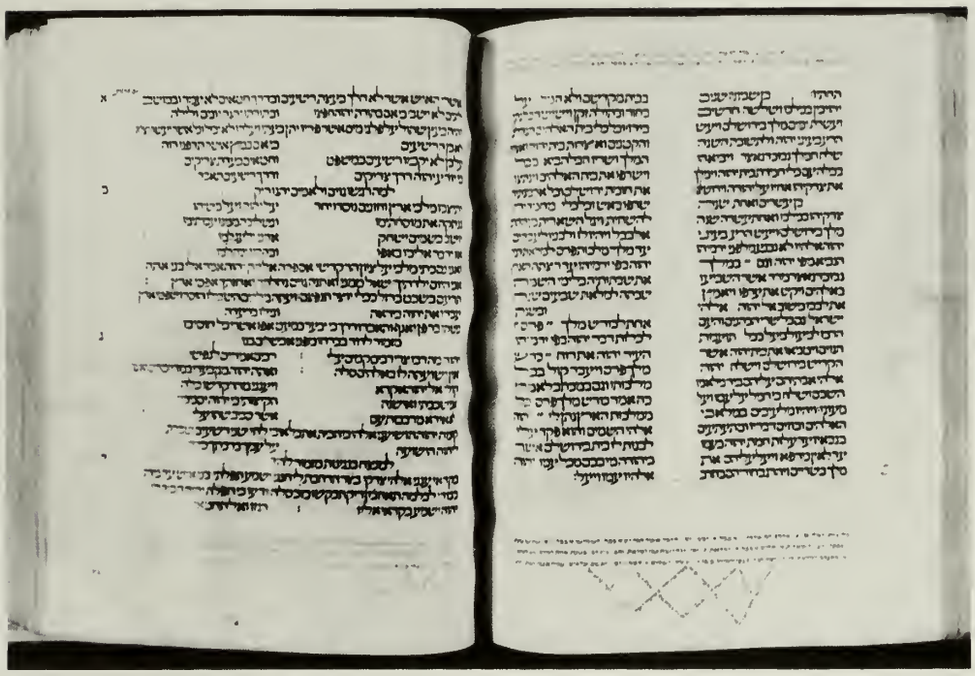
Ubudarham
Fez, 1516
printed on paper
Jewish Theological Seminary,
New York, RB 1729:3,
fols. 98v–99r

The command to remember the stranger, and the memory of the Jew as stranger, are recalled each spring at the Passover seder, when Jews everywhere gather together to celebrate—and commemorate—the Exodus. This leaf from the earliest illustrated printed haggadah (no. 39) illustrates the festive occasion. (See also no. 40.) Even more, the haggadah demands that "In every generation, each individual must regard himself as though he had emerged from Egypt." As Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi has eloquently observed, "Both the language and the gesture are geared to spur, not so much a leap of memory as a fusion of past and present. Memory here is no longer recollection, which still preserves a sense of distance, but reactualization."[6] In this case, memory is an active, participatory enterprise: by means of the communal act of recalling and retelling the quintessential account of slavery and freedom, the individual forms part of a continuum of experience in which he shares in a historic deliverance.

The stranger, alias the Other, has inevitably wandered into the academic arena. A recent international conference on the stranger in medieval society, for example, devoted a session to "Strangers in a Strange Land: Non-Iberians [i.e. Jews and troubadours] in Iberia."[7] This designation is perhaps symptomatic of a tendency to view Iberia as an appendage lying geographically and spiritually somewhere between Africa and Europe. One might further inquire whether Iberian Jews—but not their Muslim and Christian counterparts—are the only strangers in this strange land. In what sense, indeed, is the Jew a stranger? And when, if ever, does the Jew cease to be one? After all, do not at least 1,500 years of residence in the Iberian peninsula qualify one for non-alien status? Finally, would Jews, even if they were able, wish to divest themselves of their otherness?

Behind the designation of Iberian Jews as strangers lies the pervasive image of the wandering Jew. George K. Anderson summarizes the legend as "the tale of a man in Jerusalem who, when Christ was carrying his Cross to Calvary and paused to rest for a moment on this man's doorstep, drove the Saviour away ... crying aloud, 'Walk faster!' And Christ replied, 'I go, but you will walk until I come again!' "[8] For medieval Christians, the plight of the Jew as wanderer, and therefore as stranger, was a justly deserved condition, the result of rejecting the Christ.[9] Furthermore, this status of *étrangeté* was intrinsic and so abiding in Jews that, according to some Christians, even the waters of baptism provided but a veneer of Christianity.

No matter how strange the Christians may have considered Jews, the latter were by no means strangers to the Iberian peninsula. Jewish accounts trace the arrival of the first Jews to exiles from Jerusalem after the destruction of Solomon's Temple by Nebuchadnezzar in 586 B.C.E. The latter event is recorded in the extraordinary Bible (II Chronicles 36) (no. 41) begun in Toledo in 1492 and completed five years later in Constantinople. The classic biblical source for the origin of Sephardic Jewry is Obadiah 20: "And the captivity of this host of the children of Israel, that are among the Canaanites, even unto Zarephath, *and the captivity of Jerusalem, that is in Sepharad*, shall possess the cities of the South."[10] An obscure territory, probably located in Asia Minor—the Vulgate reads "Bosphorus"—thus became the eponymous home of Sephardic Jewry.



no. 41

Bible
Scribe: Abraham Cahf
Toledo, 1492 and
Constantinople, 1497
manuscript on vellum
Jewish Theological Seminary,
New York, MS 1.6,
fols. 275v–276r

In addition, certain illustrious Jews claimed Davidic lineage. For example, Don Isaac Abravanel (1437–1508), modesty aside, referred to himself as "Isaac, son of my lord, the nobleman and great one of Israel, the lord, Judah Abravanel, from the root of Jesse the Bethlehemite, from the seed of David, prince and commander of my nation, from a scattered and dispersed people, 'the captivity of Jerusalem that is in Spain [*Sefarad*].'"[11] More recently, some scholars have sought to place Jews and Phoenicians in the same boat and have them land in Galicia some ten centuries before the Common Era.[12]

A more likely scenario is the arrival of the first Jews on Iberian shores as part of the waves of Diaspora Jewry sweeping throughout the Mediterranean basin.[13] By the first century, there existed a sufficiently large Jewish community in Spain to arouse the Apostle Paul's conversionary interest. Soon after the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 C.E., more Jews arrived in the peninsula as merchants and slaves. Early confirmation of a Jewish presence includes a number of lapidary inscriptions, as well as conciliar legislation restricting Jewish-Christian contacts in terms of intermarriage, the blessing of fields by Jews, communal repasts, and adultery with Jewish women.[14]

In the early fifth century, barbarian invaders breached the crumbling walls of the Roman Empire. The Visigoths at first posed little threat to Iberian Jewry; Recared's conversion to Catholicism in 587, however, ushered in some 125 years of intermittent persecution, during which Jews were subjected to forced conversion, and rituals such as Sabbath and circumcision were proscribed.[15]

Given the suffering endured by the Jews under the Visigoths, it is not difficult to accept the claim that the former assisted the Muslims in crossing the straits of Gibraltar in 711.[16] The lightning speed of the Muslims' territorial conquest was soon equaled by the brilliance of their scientific and artistic achievements. Muslim advances in astronomy and mathematics, especially, would revolutionize European science for centuries to come, contributing to what Thomas Glick has termed "the Aristotelianization of the medieval worldview."[17] Parallel exploits in philosophy, architecture, and *belles lettres* ensured that the epicenter of Muslim intellectual activity would shift definitively from Damascus to Cordoba.

This golden age of Muslim learning shone brightly for Spanish Jews as well. Their success in government, medicine, and commerce was equaled by their stunning advances in Hebrew grammar, Bible commentaries, and sacred and profane literature. Note, in this regard, the splendid example of secular poetry by Solomon ibn Gabirol (1021/22–c. 1055) (no. 42). Versatile poets, such as Judah Halevi (before 1075–after 1141), continue to be remembered for their refined synagogal poetry, notably *piyyutim* (no. 43), in which their laments over exile merge with their longing for Zion.[18]

The collapse of the Umayyad dynasty in the early eleventh century gave rise to numerous *taifas* or petty states. This political and social disintegration was followed by decisive Christian military victories: in 1085 Alfonso VI captured Toledo, the ancient Visigothic capital; in 1212 Alfonso VIII checked the ravaging Almohades at Las Navas de Tolosa; and by the mid-thirteenth century Fernando III, *el Santo*, had taken Cordoba, Murcia, and Seville. Although the Reconquista

fig. 16

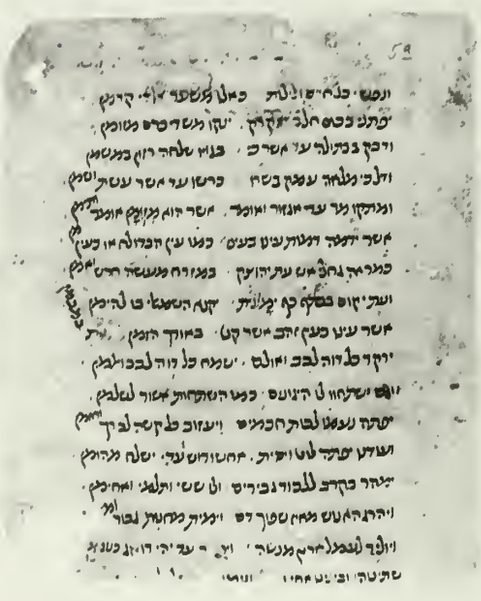
Tratado del Alborayque
Spain (possibly Seville),
16th century
printed on paper
Biblioteca Nacional
de Madrid,
MS 17567, fol. 1r

was by no means complete, the balance of territorial supremacy now tilted strongly in favor of the Christian forces.[19]

An increasing ecclesiastical presence accompanied the military triumphs and made itself felt in almost every arena of medieval life, so that even non-Christians rarely fell outside its shadow. The thirteenth century, for example, witnessed both the appearance of the Mendicants and an outpouring of canonical legislation regarding the Jews. Some laws, such as the *Constitutio pro Judeis* ["Edict in Favor of the Jews"], sought to guarantee long-standing privileges, while others openly promoted social degradation of Jews and their exclusion from Christian society.[20] The defensive character of certain policies is evident in the prohibition of verbal and written blasphemy, the interdiction of Jewish proselytism, the debarment of Jews from official posts, and the condemnation of Jewish-Christian social mingling and sexual unions.

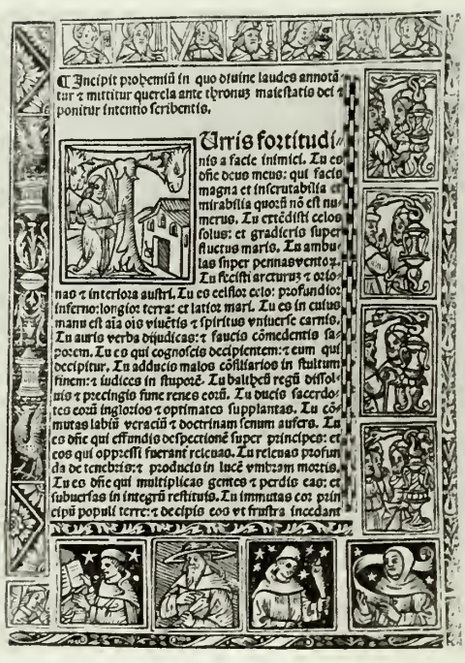
The medieval Church attempted not only to defend itself against the Jews but also to convert them. The policy of benevolent proselytism harks back to the papacy of Gregory I (590–604) and was echoed, not always very loudly, by subsequent pontiffs.[21] Efforts to bring Jews into the Christian fold included obligatory sermons, public disputations, physical intimidation, and financial inducements.[22] There is no doubt that by the early fifteenth century these and similar measures had garnered many converts to Christianity; less clear is the degree of sincerity with which the converts received the sacrament of baptism.[23] Alfonso de Espina, for example, rails against insincere *conversos* in his notorious *Fortalitium Fidei* [*Fortress of Faith*] (no. 44), and the *Tratado del Alborayque* [*Treatise on the Alborayque*] (fig. 16) excoriates the *anusim*—forced converts—for their alleged hypocrisy. Furthermore, as Old Christians witnessed *cristianos nuevos* attain public office and ecclesiastical positions, they realized to their dismay that their nemesis was now legally and theologically indistinguishable from other Christians.

In 1449, Pedro Sarmiento incited the Toledan lower classes against certain *conversos*. The subsequent edict, the *Sentencia-Estatuto*, not only accused *conversos* of robbery, treason, blasphemy, and rebellion, but it also excluded them from serving as notaries and witnesses. More important, the edict sought to discriminate against *conversos* on racial grounds. From that time forward, the obsession with *limpieza de sangre* ("purity of blood") was to constitute a notable feature of secular and ecclesiastical policy.[24] And the *conversos*, often vilified and always suspected by Christians, remained destined to play a distinctive role in Spanish life and letters for generations to come.



no. 42

Poetry Fragments
Solomon ibn Gabirol
12th century
manuscript on paper
Jewish Theological Seminary,
New York, ENA 326, fol. 5a



no. 44

Fortalitium Fidei
Alfonso de Espina
Lyon, c. 1510–1520
printed on paper
Private Collection, fol. 1

no. 43

Mi-Kamokha
Judah Halevi
Mantua, 1557
printed on paper
Jewish Theological Seminary, New York, RB 107:11

Less than 50 years after the promulgation of the *Sentencia-Estatuto*, Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabel of Castile presented the Jews of their realms with an agonizing choice: conversion or expulsion. Under pain of death and confiscation of their belongings, tens of thousands of Jews—the total number defies precision—departed their ancestral homeland, seeking refuge in Portugal, North Africa, and the Balkans. The Portuguese haven proved illusory when, in 1496, King Manuel ordered the Jews of his kingdom to convert or be expelled. The final episode in the history of medieval Iberian Jewry occurred in 1498, as Navarrese Jews, likewise threatened with expulsion, "turned from God, the Lord of Israel."[25]

This complex amalgam of popular anti-Semitism, theological anti-Judaism, and widespread conversions should not blind us to the extraordinary tenacity of Sephardic Jewry to pursue its intellectual interests and maintain its spiritual heritage. Whether under Muslim or Christian sovereignty, Sephardic Jews vigorously cultivated fertile fields of *belles lettres*, philosophy, and science without neglecting their study of liturgical poetry, *halakhah*, and Bible. Thus, even in the twilight of Iberian Jewish life, both Maimonides' *Guide for the Perplexed* and Judah Halevi's *Kuzari* found their Castilian voice,[26] and exquisite Bibles were begun in Spain and Portugal. Among the foremost examples of late medieval Bible production is Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris), Hebrew MS 15 (no. 45), written and partially decorated in Portugal and completed in Italy after the Expulsion.[27] Note, as well, the Hebrew Bible begun in Spain in 1492 (no. 41). Although the appearance of these works on the eve of the Expulsion may strike us as ironic, Sephardic Jewry could not know that they formed an epitaph to some 1,500 years of Iberian residence.

The aforementioned appreciation of the lengthy sojourn of Jews in the Iberian peninsula enables us now to examine specific aspects of the Jew as stranger in Christian society. Clearly, the essential defining quality of a stranger is his or her difference. But what happens if the dominant culture finds itself unable to detect that difference? Such appears to be the concern that prompted canon 68 of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215):

no. 45

Bible
Lisbon, c. 1496 and central Italy, c. 1504
manuscript on vellum
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Hebr. 15, fol. 137v.

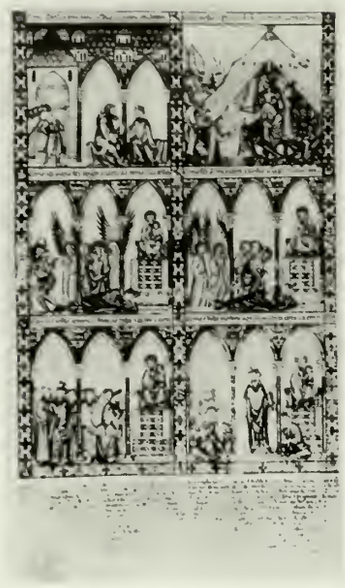


fig. 18

Cantigas de Santa Maria
Spain, 13th century
manuscript on vellum
Monasterio de El Escorial,
MS T.I.1, fol. 7v

Whereas in certain provinces of the Church the difference in their clothes sets the Jews and Saracens apart from the Christians, in certain other lands there has arisen such confusion that no differences are noticeable. Thus it sometimes happens that by mistake Christians have intercourse with Jewish or Saracen women, and Jews or Saracens with Christian women. Therefore, lest these people, under the cover of an error, find an excuse for the grave sin of such intercourse, we decree that these people (Jews and Saracens) of either sex, and in all Christian lands, and at all times, shall easily be distinguishable from the rest of the population by the quality of their clothes; especially since such legislation is imposed upon them also by Moses.[28]

It is hardly surprising that the Church should express grave fear of sexual intermingling, for it is in this arena that deep-seated concerns with protection, purity, and power arise. Christians understood the sexual joining of Christian and Jew to be an unholy alliance of the true with the false, the faithful with the faithless. By participating in this union, the Christian partakes of—and even enjoys—the alien nature of the Jew. Thus, at the same time that the Christian seeks to denigrate the Jew, he envelops him in an erotic aura, untouchable yet desirable, the forbidden fruit of the unknown. The aim of distinguishing marks is to expose the disguised, to reveal that it is not merely the obvious differences that render the stranger dangerous; on the contrary, it is his apparent sameness that requires he be differentiated. The Jew's outward similarity to Christians is a cloak that conceals his otherness, and therefore he must be identified by a sign if Christians are to remain secure (fig. 17).

And if the Jew and Eros are linked, can the Devil be far behind? In Christian tradition, Lucifer is the alien angel of light, the arch-stranger who seeks to establish his spurious kingdom on earth. To achieve his end, the Devil has recourse to an army of faithful fiends, some by nature demonic, others allied with him in common purpose. Of these devilish cohorts, none appears more frequently in theological treatise and popular tale than the Jew.[29]

Perhaps the most widely circulated accounts of the Devil-Jew partnership appear in the legends of Theophilus, the precursor of Faust. Thirteenth-century Spanish literature preserves the tradition in a number of works, including Gonzalo de Berceo's *Milagros de Nuestra Señora* [*Miracles of Our Lady*] and Alfonso X, the Learned's, *Cantigas de Santa Maria* [*Songs in Praise of Holy Mary*] (fig. 18).[30] In his version of the story, Berceo reacts with horror at the naïve enthusiasm with which the common folk embrace the devilish schemes of the crafty Jew:

> In that same bishopric where
> Theophilus resided,
> There lived a Jew in the Jewish quarter.
> He was learned in every evil deed
> and treachery,
> For with the ancient host [i.e. the dead]
> he had his confraternity.
> The wicked scoundrel was full of evil;

fig. 17

Jewish Badge
Tarragona Cathedral,
c. 1330
wall painting

fig. 19

Host Desecration
Jaime Serra, d. before 1395
Catalonia, 14th century
altarpiece
Museo de Barcelona

He knew both enchantments and
many spells,
And devised magic circles and
other schemes;
Beelzebub guided him in all his deeds.

He was well schooled in giving evil
counsel;
The false traitor killed many souls.
Since the Jew was the vassal of a
most wicked lord,
Whatever the Devil commanded,
he did with even greater skill.

People thought that the Jew was
guided by his intellect;
They did not realize that Satan
advised him in all he did.
When by chance the Jew was
successful in some deed,
The foolish rabble nearly worshipped him.

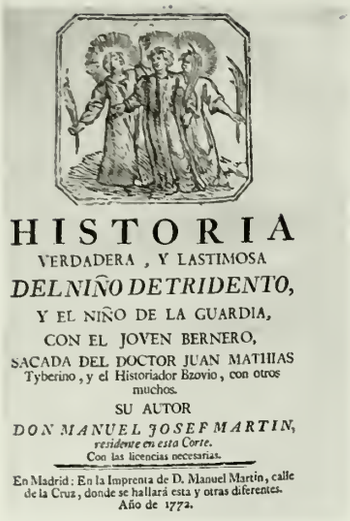
The devil granted the Jew high standing;
All came to him for advice.
They did whatever he counseled
them to do,
For he was an adept deceiver.

Everyone, young and old, considered
him a prophet;
All ran to him like pigs to acorns.
They brought the sick to him on
stretchers,
And everyone said: "We will
do whatever you command."[31]

In this straightforward, homely narrative, the Riojan poet incorporates several elements of the medieval Christian portrayal of the Jew: he resides apart from Christians and consorts with the damned; his mentor is the Devil himself; he devotes his intellect to evil schemes, including murder; and he is a skilled magician.[32]

Christians justified their antipathy toward Jews on many grounds, but none was more serious or produced more misery than the charge of deicide. According to the Church, the Jews' obdurate rejection of the true faith and treacherous murder of its founder warranted its judgment of the Jews as the enemy of God and man. This conviction prompted crusaders en route to battle the Muslim infidel to interrupt their journey and instead wreak havoc on the "Christ-killers" in their midst.[33]

Christians accused Jews not only of deicide but also of recalling the act by crucifying waxen images of Jesus and by desecrating the host. Widespread accounts of sanguineous crucifixes coincided with and reinforced the popular belief that Jesus existed in images, just as He was present in the wine and wafer of the Eucharist.[34] It was commonly held that Jews, having obtained a wafer from an obliging Christian, would seek to re-create the Passion by grinding it in a mortar, or by trampling, boiling, or stabbing the *Corpus Domini* (fig. 19). Blood would then flow from the host and the Jews participating in the sacrilege would be either converted or massacred, depending on the author's didactic aim.[35]



HISTORIA
VERDADERA, Y LASTIMOSA
DEL NIÑO DE TRIDENTO,
Y EL NIÑO DE LA GUARDIA,
CON EL JOVEN BERNERO,
SACADA DEL DOCTOR JUAN MATHIAS
Tyberino, y el Historiador Bzovio, con otros muchos.
SU AUTOR
DON MANUEL JOSEF MARTIN,
residente en esta Corte.
Con las licencias necessarias.
En Madrid: En la Imprenta de D. Manuel Martin, calle de la Cruz, donde se hallará esta y otras diferentes. Año de 1772.

no. 46

Ritual Murder Charges Against Jews
Madrid, 1772
printed on paper
Private Collection

Especially perverse examples of memory include the oft-linked ritual murder charges and blood libel, in which Jews were accused of killing a Christian child as part of a Passover blood rite. From its beginnings in the infamous case of William of Norwich (1141), the English lad reputedly crucified by Jews in a grotesque parody of the crucifixion, the ritual murder indictment spread quickly to other parts of Europe. In Spain, the charge appears in its most virulent form in the late fifteenth-century Niño de la Guardia affair. In this version, as shown here in this eighteenth-century pamphlet (no. 46), *conversos* not only crucified a child but also plotted the overthrow of Christendom by means of sorcery.[36]

The foregoing has indicated how otherness can be a condition imposed by Christians on Jews in an effort to create or accentuate differences between the two groups. In the middle ages, these differences were understood to be qualitatively significant, thus ensuring a moral hierarchy in which Jews remained in an inferior position. In particular, Christian "memory" of the Jews' responsibility for the death of Jesus erected an insurmountable barrier to meaningful Jewish-Christian dialogue. Related accusations of Jewish blasphemy, blood libel, and ritual murder further underscored for Christians the Jews' obsession with parodic memory of Christians and their dogmas. As a consequence, Jews residing in Christian lands were considered moral strangers whose tenuous existence rested upon theological waivers and economic importance.

At this point, it is well to recall Jacob Katz's observation that Jewish-Christian relations were at all times reciprocal.[37] Did Christians, then, serve a defining function for Jews? An even more important question may be: Were there occasions when Jews *preferred* to be strangers? Given the unhappy history of the Jewish-Christian encounter, this is in some ways a delicate question to pose, but one that may nonetheless shed light on the issue of Jewish alienation, exile, and memory.

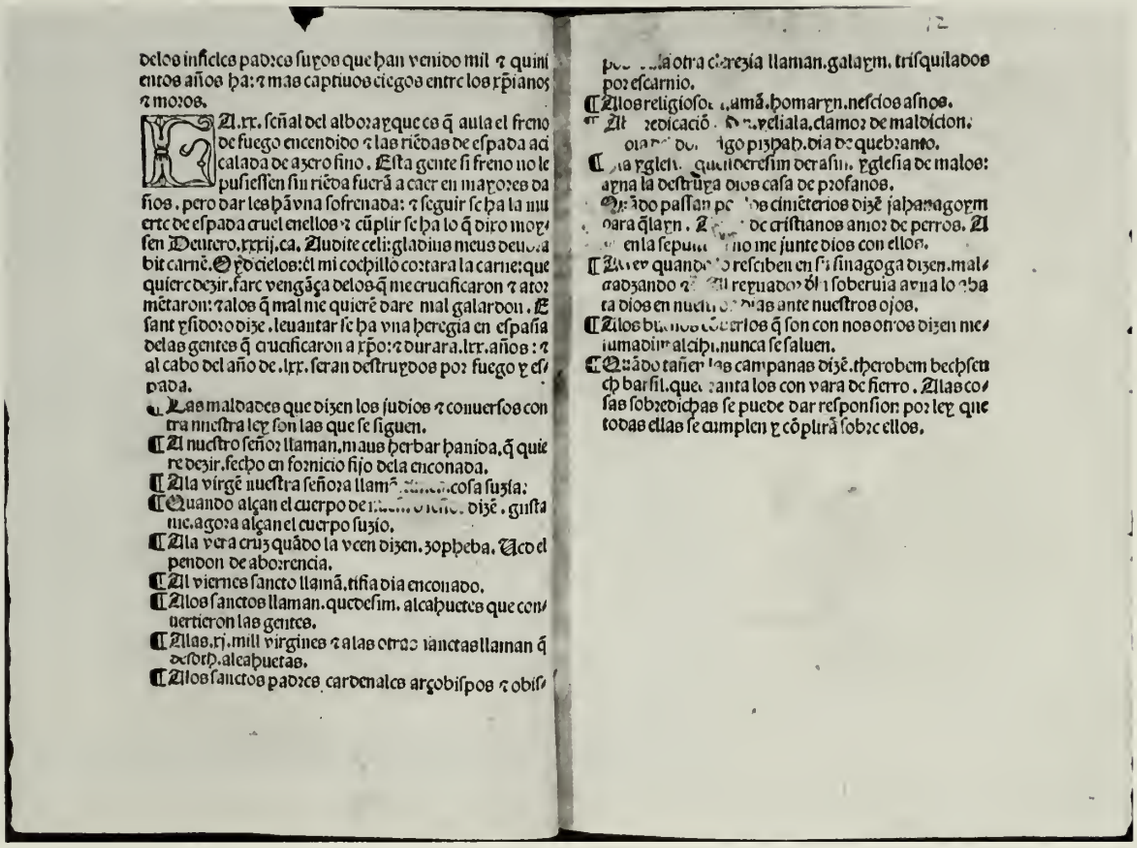
Societies rarely consider differences to be neutral, and when two societies manifest mutually incompatible premises and practices, differences become wedges—and buffers. Minority groups often view their survival as dependent upon maintaining, rather than mitigating, their differences with the dominant society. For them, isolation is indeed insulation.

Such is surely the case with medieval Spanish Jewry, whose dealings with the larger society were often circumscribed. Rabbinical authorities, like their Christian counterparts, sought to limit Jewish-Christian contacts for a variety of reasons, ranging from general suspicion of Gentile customs [*minhagei ha-goyim*] to fear of conversion to concern with sexual immorality.[38]

One way in which Jews endeavored to protect themselves from outside influences was to reside with their coreligionists in a separate part of town. Although the institutionalized ghetto later formed part of organized anti-Semitism, during the Reconquest, at least, "Jewish quarters were often but by-products of the new rulers' conscious policy in resettling their deserted lands."[39] In any case, Jews required centralized residence for a number of communal structures, including synagogues, schools, benevolent and burial societies, cemeteries, tribunals, ritual baths, certain trades, and markets.[40] Secular Christian authorities recognized the unique character of these institutions and generally allowed Jews a large measure of self-governance.

Jewish-Christian *convivencia* sometimes resulted in clashes between the two groups, with consequences for Jews ranging from personal assaults to the destruction of entire communities. It is important to realize, however, that these conflicts were not unilateral. Just as Christians had developed a distorted picture of Jews and Judaism, so Jews sometimes depicted Christians and Christianity in unflattering terms. Since the battleground between the two rivals was often theological, this hostile portrayal frequently appeared in polemics against Christianity. Whereas in public Jews were constrained to be circumspect, in their own Hebrew writings, such as the *Toledot Yeshu*, a pseudo-biography of Jesus, or the *Niẓẓaḥon Vetus* [*Old Book of Polemic*], they blatantly disparaged key tenets of the Christian faith.[41] In the same vein, the late fifteenth-century *Tratado del Alborayque* [*Treatise on the Alborayque*] (fig. 20) contains a bilingual (transliterated Hebrew and Spanish) compendium of curses against Christianity allegedly uttered by Jews and *conversos*.

It is clear from the preceding that alienation adopts many forms, though perhaps none is more wrenching than territorial exile that is intimately bound to spiritual longings. For Jews, the abiding presence of Zion engendered a sense of impermanence that obliged them to remain spiritual strangers no matter how comfortable they may have felt within their immediate boundaries. The *siddur* (prayer book) (no. 47) and *maḥzor* (festival prayer book) (no. 48) likewise constitute repositories of the sorrows of exile and storehouses of hope for the reestablishment of Jewish sovereignty. This latter yearning acquires particular poignancy in medieval Hebrew poetry, since "Christians and Muslims saw the Jews' loss of sovereignty as proof that God had passed over them and their version of the truth."[42] But Jews knew that one day their exile would end and, strangers no more, they would once again worship —and reign— in Jerusalem.



delos infieles padres ſuyos que han venido mil ⁊ quinientos años ha: ⁊ mas captiuos ciegos entre los xpianos ⁊ moros.

El.xx. ſeñal del alboraẏque es q̃ aula el freno de fuego encendido ⁊ las riẽdas de eſpada acicalada de açero fino. Eſta gente ſi freno no le puſieſſen ſin riẽda fuerã a caer en mayores daños, pero dar les hã vna ſofrenada: ⁊ ſeguir ſe ha la muerte de eſpada cruel en ellos ⁊ cũplir ſe ha lo q̃ dixo moyſen Deutero. xxxij. ca. Audite celi: gladius meus deuorabit carnẽ. O ỹdos cielos: el mi cochillo cortara la carne: que quiere dezir. farc vengãça de los q̃ me crucificaron ⁊ atormẽtaron: ⁊ a los q̃ mal me quierẽ dare mal galardon. E ſant ẏſidoro dize. leuantar ſe ha vna heregia en eſpaña de las gentes q̃ crucificaron a xp̃o: ⁊ durara. lxx. años: ⁊ al cabo del año de. lxx. ſeran deſtruydos por fuego ẏ eſpada.

¶ Las maldades que dizen los judios ⁊ conuerſos contra nueſtra ley ſon las que ſe ſiguen.

¶ Al nueſtro ſeñor llaman, maus herbar hanida, q̃ quiere dezir. fecho en fornicio fijo dela enconada.

¶ Alla virgẽ nueſtra ſeñora llam[illegible] coſa ſuzia:

¶ Quando alçan el cuerpo de [illegible] dizẽ. gaſta nuc. agora alçan el cuerpo ſuzio.

¶ Alla vera cruz quãdo la ven dizen, zopheba. Ueo el pendon de aborrencia.

¶ Al viernes ſancto llamã, tifia dia enconado.

¶ Alos ſanctos llaman. quedeſim. alcahuetes que conuertieron las gentes.

¶ Allas. rj. mill virgines ⁊ alas otras ſanctas llaman q̃ deſorh. alcahuetas.

¶ Alos ſanctos padres cardenales arçobiſpos ⁊ obiſ[illegible] ...la otra clerezia llaman. galaym. triſquilados por eſcarnio.

¶ Alos religioſos llamã. homaryn. neſcios aſnos.

¶ Alt[illegible] redicaciõ [illegible] veliala. clamor de maldicion. [illegible] dominigo pizpah. dia de quebramo.

¶ [illegible] yglesia. quelloderesim deraſin. yglesia de malos: ayna la deſtruyra dios caſa de profanos.

¶ Quãdo paſſan por los cimẽterios dizẽ jahamagoyrm para q̃ laẏn. A[illegible] de criſtianos amor de perros. A[illegible] en la ſepultura no me junte dios con ellos.

¶ Auer quando [illegible] reſciben en ſu ſinagoga dizen. malgradẽzando q[illegible] el reynador ỏh ſoberuia ayna lo abata dios en nuestros dias ante nueſtros ojos.

¶ Alos buenos cõuertios q̃ ſon con nos otros dizen meiumadim alaih. nunca ſe ſaluen.

¶ Quãdo tañen las campanas dizẽ. therobem bechſech barſil. que eſpanta los con vara de fierro. Allas coſas ſobredichas ſe puede dar reſponſion por ley que todas ellas ſe cumplen ẏ cõplirã ſobre ellos.

fig. 20

Tratado del Alboraych
Spain (possibly Seville), 16th century
printed on paper
Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, MS 17567, fols. 11v–12r

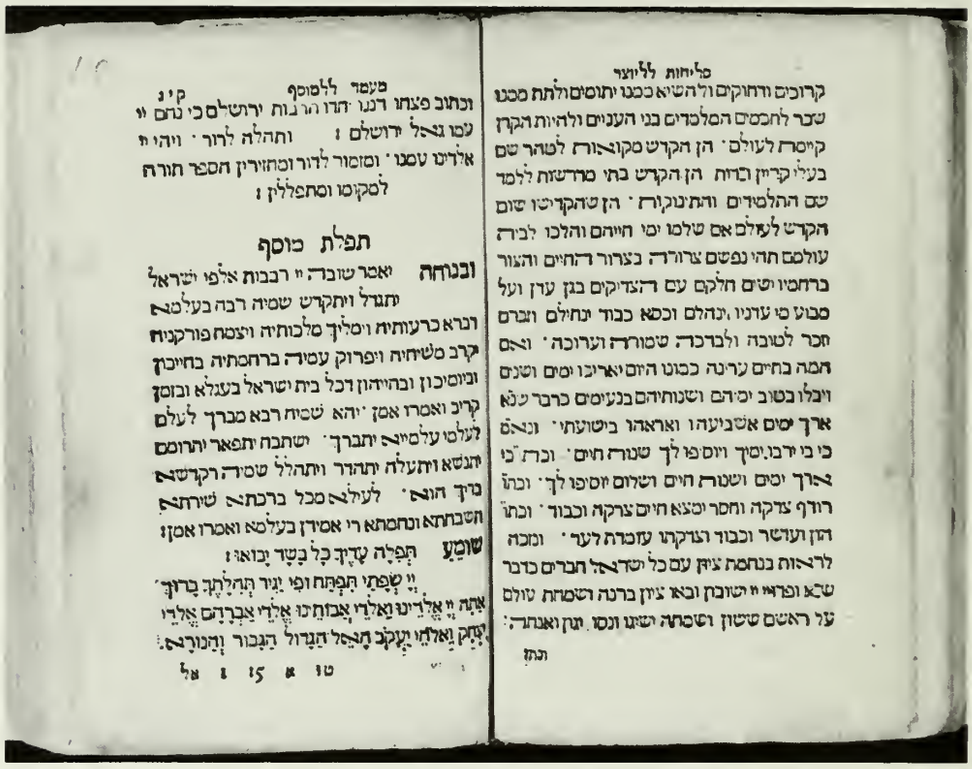
Mysticism and messianism served as the vehicles for these spiritual and political longings.[43] Although the sages of the Talmud had early on derived the mystical union between God and His people from the Song of Songs, it was medieval Hebrew poets in Al-Andalus who explored the relationship most intimately. The liturgical poetry of the golden age extols in vivid, sometimes erotic, imagery the covenant between God and Israel. These shimmering pieces move at least as much by their language as by their message, as can be seen in the following poem on redemption by Solomon ibn Gabirol:

> Come to me at dawn, love,
> Carry me away;
> For in my heart I'm thirsting
> To see my folk today.
>
> For you, love, mats of gold
> Within my halls I'll spread.
> I'll set my table for you,
> I'll serve you my own bread.
>
> A drink from my own vineyards
> I'll pour to fill your cup—
> Heartily you'll drink, love,
> Heartily you'll sup.
>
> I'll take my pleasure with you
> As once I had such joy
> With Jesse's son, my people's prince,
> That Bethlehem boy.[44]

Poetry of dialogue and redemption is linked thematically to poetry of exile, for it is exile—physical and spiritual—that estranges Israel from God. Even more, Israel alone is ultimately responsible for its exilic condition. The cry "because of our sins" resounds in Jewish Scripture and echoes in medieval poetry. Yet, while many poets lamented in verse the exilic state, only Judah Halevi sought out the object of his songs. The following poem movingly depicts the poet's journey from the land of exile to the Promised Land:

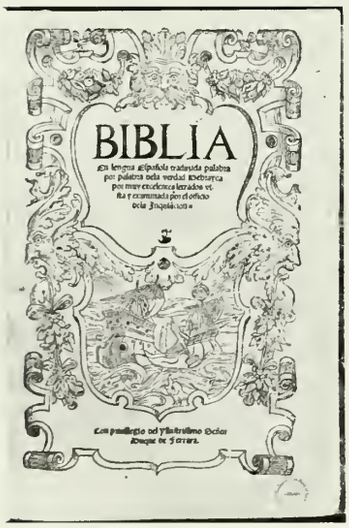
> My heart is in the East
> And I am at the edge of the West.
> Then how can I taste what I eat,
> How can I enjoy it?
> How can I fulfill my vows and pledges
> While Zion is in the domain of Edom,
> And I am in the bonds of Arabia?
> It would be easy for me to leave behind
> All the good things of Spain;
> It would be glorious to see
> The dust of the ruined shrine.[45]

In the course of our search for the Jewish stranger, we have discovered that he inhabits both a geographical area and a psychological space. The memory of the singular event of "matan-Torah," the giving of the Torah, embued medieval Jewry with a sense of uniqueness and permanence in the face of supremely mutable circumstances. This



no. 48

Machzor: Festival Prayer Books
Venice, 1581–1583
printed on paper
Jewish Theological Seminary,
New York, MIC 5705



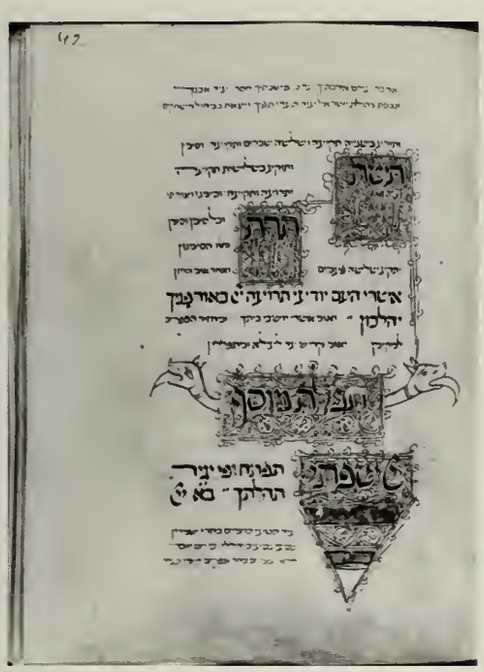
no. 49

Bible
Ferrara, 1553
printed on paper
Jewish Theological Seminary,
New York, RB 1803:23

certitude proved to be indispensable, since, as the history of Iberian Jewry amply demonstrates, territorial residence is at best uncertain and ultimately impermanent. The Expulsion, above all, definitively halted the uneven continuity of overt Jewish life in the peninsula, obliging those who had arrived as exiles to depart as exiles.

Yet, the calamities that befell Spanish Jewry did not efface essential features of Jewish life. It would be an error to conclude that catastrophe perforce extinguishes creativity. Moshe Idel argues, in fact, that new trends in post-Expulsion kabbalah, philosophy, and halakhah were "basically not the result of despair, but of a sustained effort by the Sephardi Jews to rebuild their religious and social life in new centres."[46] At the same time, those *conversos* and their descendants who remained in the peninsula were responsible for an extraordinary outpouring of secular literature. One of the most notable examples is Fernando de Rojas (c. 1475–1541), whose *Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea* (more commonly known as *Celestina*) had appeared in over 100 Spanish editions by 1634.[47] In addition to these creative impulses, the sixteenth century witnessed a resurgence of Jewish historiography—e.g., Solomon ibn Verga's *Shebet Yehuda* [*The Scepter of Judah*] and Samuel Usque's *Consolaçam as tribulaçoens de Israel* [*A Consolation for the Tribulations of Israel*]—partly an effort to comprehend rather than simply remember the recent crisis.[48]

Sephardic Jewry's survival and adaptability are perhaps most evident in its rapid expansion to Italy, North Africa, and the Ottoman Empire.[49] Once again strangers, these Jews tenaciously maintained their religious traditions and customs, sometimes thus irritating their more established coreligionists. Intellectual links with the Iberian peninsula also persisted, as evidenced by works begun in Spain or Portugal but completed in the diaspora (nos. 39, 41, 45).[50] Equally noteworthy is the rise of *marrano*-operated printing houses in western Europe, such as the one in Ferrara which published the magnificent *Biblia de Ferrara* (no. 49) in 1553.[51] Later, in seventeenth-century Amsterdam, sometimes known as the New Jerusalem, Jews composed a dazzling array of secular and religious works in Spanish and Portuguese.[52] Thus, even in exile, Sephardic Jews recalled their homeland in religious rite and literary tongue, eloquent testimony indeed to their abiding memory of Sepharad.[53]



no. 47

Siddur
(Prayer Book for Daily Use and Festivals)
Spain, 15th century
manuscript on vellum
Jewish Theological Seminary, New York, MS 4366, fol. 42

Notes

[1] Eliot, *Middlemarch*, p. 658.

[2] "The Hebrew term *ger*, 'stranger,' denotes a foreign-born permanent resident whose status was intermediate between the native born citizen (*ezrah*) and the foreigner temporarily residing outside his community (*nokhri*)" (Sarna 1991, p. 137). See also Milgrom 1990, p. 398 (Excursus 34).

[3] Unless otherwise indicated, the version of the Bible (TANAKH) cited is that of the Jewish Publication Society.

[4] The 400 years mentioned in this passage are difficult to reconcile with other calculations (Sarna 1989, pp. 116, 359 n. 17; also, *The Soncino Chumash*, p. 73). One of the major problems in reckoning the Israelites' servitude from the birth of Isaac is that he never suffered the fate of exile due to his sacrificial holiness (see Rashi's commentary on Genesis 26:2).

[5] Although these laws involve Israel's treatment of the stranger, rather than Israel as stranger, they nonetheless implicitly recognize the social and legal disabilities attached to being a stranger.

[6] Yerushalmi 1982b, p. 44.

[7] University of Minnesota, 1994. I am grateful to the organizers, F.R.P. Akehurst and Stephanie VanD'Elden, for the opportunity to participate. Portions of the present essay were delivered on the occasion of this conference.

[8] Anderson 1991, p. 11.

[9] In the spirit of Salo W. Baron, one should avoid the temptation to conceive of Jewish history as an endless series of persecution-prompted wanderings. To see the Jew only as a tormented wanderer, a stranger, is to distort at many times and in many places the Jew's own sense of permanence and relative comfort.

[10] *The Twelve Prophets* [Obadiah], p. 134.

[11] Introduction to Abravanel's commentary on the book of Kings (*Nevi'im Rishonim*), 1976, p. 442. Note, as well, Caro Baroja's curious observations on Spanish Jews and their alleged aristocratic propensities: "Es evidente que cierto tipo de judío ha gustado siempre de mezclarse con la aristocracia y que, de un modo concreto, el sefardí tuvo pronto un sentido aristocrático que parece no hallarse tan acusado en el asquenazí o judío de la Europa oriental. Vivir entre nobles y a lo noble es su supremo deseo" (1962, 1: 84).

[12] García Iglesias 1978, pp. 31–35.

[13] Baron 1952–1983, 1: 169–170. The classic history of Spanish Jewry remains Baer 1961.

[14] Photographs of early inscriptions are found in García Iglesias 1978, plates I–16. The text of the Council of Elvira (c. 300) appears in Vives 1963, pp. 1–15 (canons 16, 49, 50, 78).

[15] Baron 1952–1983, 3: 33–46, and Bachrach 1977.

[16] O'Callaghan 1975, p. 92. A contrasting view appears in Roth 1976.

[17] Glick 1992, p. 106, also, Harvey 1990.

[18] The *piyyut* "Mi-Kamokha" deals primarily, of course, with Purim, although the conclusion makes extended reference to the Exodus. On the theological component of *piyyutim* see Petuchowski 1978.

[19] For an admirable synthesis of the period consult Reilly 1993.

[20] Papal-Jewish relations are examined in Synan 1965 and Grayzel 1966, 1989.

[21] "Hos enim, qui a christiana religione discordant, mansuetudine, benignitate, admonendo, suadendo ad unitatem fidei necesse est congregare, ne quos dulcedo praedicationis et praeventus futuri iudicis terror ad credendum invitare poterat, minis et terroribus repellantur" (*Gregorii I Papae Registrum Epistolarum*, XXXIV, 1: 48).

[22] Important assessments of Christian proselytism of Jews include Cohen 1982; Maccoby 1982; Chazan 1989; Dahan 1991; and Toledo 1992, pp. 300–308.

[23] The issue of crypto-Judaism has occupied the attention of numerous scholars, some of whom emphasize the close relations between Jews and *conversos* and argue that the latter attempted to retain, to the extent possible, their Jewish identity and practices; others underscore the conversion and assimilation of many Spanish Jews. For convenient, though polemical, summaries of these views, see Roth 1989, pp. 23–25; and Abulafia 1992, pp. 3–6.

[24] The fundamental study on *limpieza de sangre* remains Sicroff 1960.

[25] Useful introductions to the complicated subject of the Expulsion include Gerber 1992, pp. 115–144; Kamen 1992; Abulafia 1992; Díaz-Mas 1992; and Waddington-Williamson 1994. Primary documents are collected in Suárez Fernández 1964. On the expulsion of Navarrese Jewry see Gampel 1989.

[26] Maimonides 1989 and Halevi 1990.

[27] Gutmann 1978, plates 39, 40, and Garel 1991, p. 145.

[28] Cited in Grayzel 1966, pp. 308-309. Spanish secular authorities were rarely paragons of consistency with regard to the badge, since practical considerations often prevailed over piety. Fernando III (1217-1252), for instance, acceded to the pressure of defiant Jewish leaders who threatened to leave Castile for Muslim territories if forced to wear the badge (Grayzel 1966, pp. 63, 150-151). For his part, Alfonso X, the Learned (1252-1284), ordered Jews to wear some sort of unambiguous head covering, lest certain unidentified, but easily divined, "errors and evils" occur between Christians and Jews (Carpenter 1986, pp. 36-37, 99-101).

[29] The fundamental study is Trachtenberg 1983. On the racial conception of the Jew see Yerushalmi 1982a; Carmichael 1992; and Gilman 1993. Note, as well, Langmuir 1990.

[30] On the portrayal of Jews and Muslims in medieval Spanish literature see Carpenter 1992.

[31] Berceo, *Los milagros de Nuestra Señora*, sts. 721-726.

[32] Berceo's roster hardly exhausts the Jew's repertoire of diabolical attributes and nefarious deeds. Many churchmen, for example, held that Antichrist, a pseudo-messiah of Jewish-Satanic pedigree, would appear prior to the coming of the true Messiah in order to deceive the Jews and battle the saints. Jews were thus allied genetically and spiritually with the enemy of Christ and his people. For an excellent study of this topic see Emmerson 1981, esp. pp. 79-83, 90-91.

[33] Eidelberg 1977; also Rohrbacher 1991.

[34] On Christian understanding of Christ's presence in crucifixes and images see Patricia DeLeeuw's essay in this catalogue.

[35] Alfonso X includes in his *Cantigas de Santa Maria* (no. 34) the story of a Jew who steals and desecrates an image of the Virgin. The malefactor is subsequently killed by a devil.

[36] Useful treatments include Dundes 1991; Shepard 1991; and Hsia 1992.

[37] Katz 1962, p. 3.

[38] On Jewish-Christian *convivencia* see Glick 1992.

[39] Baron 1952-1983, 11: 88.

[40] Examples abound in Finkelstein 1972.

[41] Krauss 1902; Berger 1979; Trautner-Kromann 1992; New York 1992; and Carpenter 1993.

[42] Scheindlin 1991, p. 34.

[43] Scheindlin 1991, pp. 33-51. On medieval Hebrew poetry see Millás Vallicrosa 1948; Berlin 1991; Brann 1991; and Pagis 1991.

[44] Scheindlin 1991, pp. 96-97.

[45] Carmi 1981, p. 347. Line arrangement is mine.

[46] Idel 1992, p. 136.

[47] See my forthcoming "A *Converso* Best-Seller: *Celestina* and Her Foreign Offspring."

[48] Yerushalmi 1982b, pp. 57-75; and Faur 1992, pp. 207-213.

[49] A useful map of these migrations is reproduced in Orfali 1990, p. 201.

[50] Yerushalmi 1974, pp. 7-8, discusses the problematic provenance of the early sixteenth-century haggadah (no. 39).

[51] Biblia de Ferrara 1992. Also, Mordechai Glatzer, "Early Hebrew Printing," in New York 1988, pp. 80-91; Orfali 1990; and Kaplan 1992.

[52] Oelman 1982; Kaplan 1989; and Angel 1991.

[53] The following individuals generously assisted in the preparation of this essay. I would like to extend my sincere appreciation to each of them: Virginia Reinburg; Ann Kahn, Columbia University; Evelyn M. Cohen, The Jewish Theological Seminary of America and Stern College, Yeshiva University; Sharon Liberman Mintz, Mayer Rabinowitz, Menahem Schmelzer, and Jerry Schwarzbard, all of The Jewish Theological Seminary of America.

Abbreviations

Abravanel 1976
Abravanel, Isaac. *Nevi'im Rishonim*. Jerusalem, 1976.

Abulafia 1992
Abulafia, David. *1492: The Expulsion from Spain and Jewish Identity*. Studies in Judaism, 2. London, 1992.

Alfonso X, *Cantigas de Santa Maria*
Alfonso X. *Cantigas de Santa Maria*. 3 vols. Madrid, 1986-1989.

Anderson 1991
Anderson, George K. *The Legend of the Wandering Jew*. Hanover, NH, 1991.

Angel 1991
Angel, Marc D. *Voices in Exile: A Study in Sephardic Intellectual History*. Hoboken, 1991.

Bachrach 1977
Bachrach, Bernard S. *Early Medieval Jewish Policy in Western Europe*. Minneapolis, 1977.

Baer 1961
Baer, Yitzhak. *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain*. Trans. Louis Schoffman. 2 vols. Philadelphia, 1961-1966.

Baron 1952-1983
Baron, Salo W. *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*. 2nd ed. 18 vols. Philadelphia and New York, 1952-1983.

Berceo, *Los milagros de Nuestra Señora*
Berceo, Gonzalo de. *Los milagros de Nuestra Señora*. Ed. Brian Dutton. London, 1971.

Berger 1979
Berger, David. *The Jewish-Christian Debate in the High Middle Ages: A Critical Edition of the "Nizzahon Vetus."* Philadelphia, 1979.

Berlin 1991
Berlin, Adele. *Biblical Poetry Through Medieval Jewish Eyes*. Bloomington, 1991.

Bible (TANAKH) 1985
The Jewish Publication Society. *Bible*. Philadelphia-Jerusalem, 1985.

Biblia de Ferrara 1992
Hassán, Iacob M., and Uriel Macías Kapón, eds. *Biblia de Ferrara*. Madrid, 1992.

Brann 1991
Brann, Ross. *The Compunctious Poet: Cultural Ambiguity and Hebrew Poetry in Muslim Spain*. Baltimore, 1991.

Carmi 1981
Carmi, T., ed. and trans. *The Penguin Book of Hebrew Verse*. New York, 1981.

Carmichael 1992
Carmichael, Joel. *The Satanizing of the Jews: Origin and Development of Mystical Anti-Semitism*. New York, 1992.

Caro Baroja 1962
Caro Baroja, Julio. *Los judíos en la España moderna y contemporánea*. 3 vols. Madrid, 1962.

Carpenter 1986
Carpenter, Dwayne E. *Alfonso X and the Jews: An Edition of and Commentary on "Siete Partidas" 7.24, "De los judíos."* Berkeley, 1986.

Carpenter 1992
Carpenter, Dwayne E. "Social Perception and Literary Portrayal: Jews and Muslims in Medieval Spanish Literature," in *Convivencia: Jews, Muslims, and Christians in Medieval Spain*. New York, 1992, pp. 61-81.

Carpenter 1993
Carpenter, Dwayne E. *Text and Concordance of the "Tratado del Alborayque": Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid MS. 17567*. Madison, 1993.

Chazan 1989
Chazan, Robert. *Daggers of Faith: Thirteenth-Century Christian Missionizing and Jewish Response*. Berkeley, 1989.

Chumash (Pentateuch) 1947
The Soncino Chumash. The Soncino Books of the Bible. Ed. A. Cohen. London, 1947.

Cohen 1982
Cohen, Jeremy. *The Friars and the Jews: The Evolution of Medieval Anti-Judaism*. Ithaca, 1982.

Cohen 1992
Cohen, Evelyn M. "L'Artista della *Haggadah di Prato:* Tradizionalista ed innovatore," in *Il Codice miniato: Rapporti tra codice, testo e figurazione: Atti del III Congresso di Storia della Miniatura*. Florence, 1992.

Dahan 1991
Dahan, Gilbert. *La polémique chrétienne contre le judaïsme au Moyen Age*. Paris, 1991.

Díaz-Mas 1992
Díaz-Mas, Paloma. *Sephardim: The Jews from Spain*. Chicago, 1992.

Dundes 1991
Dundes, Alan, ed. *The Blood Libel Legend: A Casebook in Anti-Semitic Folklore*. Madison, 1991.

Eidelberg 1977
Eidelberg, Shlomo, ed. *The Jews and the Crusaders: The Hebrew Chronicles of the First and Second Crusades*. Madison, 1977.

Eliot, *Middlemarch*
Eliot, George. *Middlemarch*. Intro. Margaret Drabble. New York, 1985.

Emmerson 1981
Emmerson, Richard Kenneth. *Antichrist in the Middle Ages: A Study of Medieval Apocalypticism, Art, and Literature*. Seattle, 1981.

Faur 1992
Faur, José. *In the Shadow of History: Jews and "Conversos" at the Dawn of Modernity*. Albany, 1992.

Finkelstein 1972
Finkelstein, Louis. *Jewish Self-Government in the Middle Ages*. Westport, CT, 1972.

Gampel 1989
Gampel, Benjamin R. *The Last Jews on Iberian Soil: Navarrese Jewry 1479/1498*. Berkeley, 1989.

García Iglesias 1978
García Iglesias, L. *Los judíos en la España antigua*. Madrid, 1978.

Garel 1991
Garel, Michel, ed. *D'une main forte: Manuscrits hébreux des collections françaises*. Paris, 1991.

Gerber 1992
Gerber, Jane S. *The Jews of Spain: A History of the Sephardic Experience*. New York, 1992.

Gilman 1993
Gilman, Sander L. *Freud, Race, and Gender*. Princeton, 1993.

Glick 1992
Glick, Thomas F. "Science in Medieval Spain: The Jewish Contribution in the Context of *Convivencia*," in *Convivencia: Jews, Muslims, and Christians in Medieval Spain*. New York, 1992, pp. 83-111.

Grayzel 1966
Grayzel, Solomon. *The Church and the Jews in the XIIIth Century*. Rev. ed. vol. 1. New York, 1966.

Grayzel 1989
Grayzel, Solomon. *The Church and the Jews in the XIIIth Century*. Ed. Kenneth R. Stow. vol. 2. New York, 1989.

Gregorii I Papae Registrum Epistolarum
Gregory I. *Gregorii I Papae Registrum Epistolarum*. Ed. P. Ewald and L. M. Hartmann. 2 vols. *MGH; Epist*. Berlin, 1887-1899.

Gutmann 1978
Gutmann, Joseph. *Hebrew Manuscript Painting*. New York, 1978.

Halevi 1990
Halevi, Yehudah [Judah]. *Book of the Kuzari: A Book of Proof and Argument in Defense of a Despised Faith. A 15th Century Ladino Translation (Ms. 17812, B.N. Madrid)*. Culver City, CA, 1990.

Harvey 1990
Harvey, L. P. *Islamic Spain: 1250-1500*. Chicago, 1990.

Hsia 1992
Hsia, R. Po-chia. *Trent 1475: Stories of a Ritual Murder Trial*. New Haven, 1992.

Idel 1992
Idel, Moshe. "Religion, Thought and Attitudes: The Impact of the Expulsion on the Jews," in *Spain and the Jews: The Sephardi Experience, 1492 and After*. London, 1992, pp. 123-139.

Kamen 1992
Kamen, Henry. "The Expulsion: Purpose and Consequence." In *Spain and the Jews: The Sephardi Experience, 1492 and After*. London, 1992, pp. 74-91.

Kaplan 1989
Kaplan, Yosef. *From Christianity to Judaism: The Story of Isaac Orobio de Castro*. Oxford, 1989.

Kaplan 1992
Kaplan, Yosef. "The Formation of the Western Sephardic Diaspora," in *The Sephardi Journey: 1492-1992*. New York, 1992, pp. 136-155.

Katz 1962
Katz, Jacob. *Exclusiveness and Tolerance: Studies in Jewish-Gentile Relations in Medieval and Modern Times*. New York, 1962.

Krauss 1902
Krauss, Samuel. *Das Leben Jesu nach Jüdischen Quellen*. Berlin, 1902.

Langmuir 1990
Langmuir, Gavin I. *Toward a Definition of Antisemitism*. Berkeley, 1990.

Maccoby 1982
Maccoby, Hyam. *Judaism on Trial: Jewish-Christian Disputations in the Middle Ages*. East Brunswick, NJ, 1982.

Maimonides 1989
Maimonides [Moses]. *Guide for the Perplexed: A 15th Century Spanish Translation by Pedro de Toledo (Ms. 10289, B.N. Madrid)*. Culver City, CA, 1989.

Milgrom 1990
Milgrom, Jacob. *The JPS Torah Commentary: Numbers*. Philadelphia, 1990.

Millás Vallicrosa 1948
Millás Vallicrosa, José M.ª *La poesía sagrada hebraicoespañola*. 2nd ed. Madrid, 1948.

New York 1988
Gold, Leonard Singer, ed. *A Sign and a Witness: 2,000 Years of Hebrew Books and Illuminated Manuscripts*. New York, 1988.

New York 1992
Mann, Vivian B., Thomas F. Glick, and Jerrilynn D. Dodds, eds. *Convivencia: Jews, Muslims, and Christians in Medieval Spain*. New York, 1992.

O'Callaghan 1975
O'Callaghan, Joseph F. *A History of Medieval Spain*. Ithaca, 1975.

Oelman 1982
Oelman, Timothy, ed. and trans. *Marrano Poets of the Seventeenth Century: An Anthology of the Poetry of João Pinto Delgado, Antonio Enriquez Gomez, and Miguel de Barrios*. East Brunswick, NJ, 1982.

Orfali 1990
Orfali, Moisés. "Cuatro siglos de historia sefardí," in *Las tres culturas en la corona de Castilla y los sefardíes*. Junta de Castilla y León, 1990, pp. 189-201.

Pagis 1991
Pagis, Dan. *Hebrew Poetry of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*. Berkeley, 1991.

Petuchowski 1978
Petuchowski, Jacob J. *Theology and Poetry: Studies in the Medieval "Piyyut."* London, 1978.

Reilly 1993
Reilly, Bernard F. *The Medieval Spains*. Cambridge, 1993.

Rohrbacher 1991
Rohrbacher, Stefan. "The Charge of Deicide: An Anti-Jewish Motif in Medieval Christian Art." *Journal of Medieval History* 17 (1991), pp. 297-321.

Roth 1976
Roth, Norman. "The Jews and the Muslim Conquest of Spain." *Jewish Social Studies* 38 (1976), pp. 145-158.

Roth 1989
Roth, Norman. "Jewish Conversos in Medieval Spain: Some Misconceptions and New Information," in *Marginated Groups in Spanish and Portuguese History*. Minneapolis, 1989, pp. 23-52.

Sarna 1989
Sarna, Nahum M. *The JPS Torah Commentary: Genesis*. Philadelphia, 1989.

Sarna 1991
Sarna, Nahum M. *The JPS Torah Commentary: Exodus*. Philadelphia, 1991.

Scheindlin 1991
Scheindlin, Raymond P. *The Gazelle: Medieval Hebrew Poems on God, Israel, and the Soul*. Philadelphia, 1991.

Shepard 1991
Shepard, Stanford. "The Present State of the Ritual Crime in Spain," in *The Blood Libel Legend: A Casebook in Anti-Semitic Folklore*. Madison, 1991, pp. 162-179.

Sicroff 1960
Sicroff, Albert A. *Les controverses des statuts de "pureté de sang" en Espagne du 15e au 17e siècle*. Paris, 1960.

Suárez Fernández 1964
Suárez Fernández, Luis. *Documentos acerca de la expulsión de los judíos*. Valladolid, 1964.

Synan 1965
Synan, Edward A. *The Popes and the Jews in the Middle Ages*. New York, 1965.

Toledo 1992
Romero, Elena, ed. *La vida judía en Sefarad*. Madrid, 1992.

Trachtenberg 1983
Trachtenberg, Joshua. *The Devil and the Jews: The Medieval Conception of the Jew and its Relation to Modern Anti-Semitism*. Philadelphia, 1983.

Trautner-Kromann 1992
Trautner-Kromann, Hanne. *Shield and Sword: Jewish Polemics Against Christianity and Christians in France and Spain from 1100-1500*. Tübingen, 1992.

The Twelve Prophets (Bible) 1948
The Twelve Prophets. The Soncino Books of the Bible. Ed. A. Cohen. London, 1948.

Vives 1963
Vives, José. *Concilios visigóticos e hispano-romanos*. Madrid, 1963.

Yerushalmi 1974
Yerushalmi, Yosef Hayim. *Leaves from the Oldest Illustrated Printed Haggadah*. Philadelphia, 1974.

Yerushalmi 1975
Yerushalmi, Yosef Hayim. *Haggadah and History: A Panorama in Facsimile of Five Centuries of the Printed Haggadah from the Collections of Harvard University and the Jewish Theological Seminary of America*. Philadelphia, 1975.

Yerushalmi 1982a
Yerushalmi, Yosef Hayim. *Assimilation and Racial Anti-Semitism: The Iberian and the German Models*. The Leo Baeck Memorial Lecture, 26. New York, 1982.

Yerushalmi 1982b
Yerushalmi, Yosef Hayim. *Zakhor: Jewish History and Jewish Memory*. Seattle, 1982.

Reconstructing Arthurian History: Lancelot and the Vulgate Cycle

Matilda Tomaryn Bruckner

"If I forget thee, O Jerusalem ..."

Psalm 137: 5

"forsan et haec olim meminisse iuvabit."
["Perhaps some day remembering even this will be a pleasure."]

Aeneid I: 203

If the act of remembering is the quintessential gesture of preservation that guards and informs the identities of peoples, stories, and cultures, the psalmist reminds us that forgetting may be tied just as inextricably to the process. Indeed, the paralysis of Jorge Luis Borges's memorable character "Funes el memorioso," immobilized by his incapacity to forget anything, even the smallest thing, suggests that our ability to move, change, and develop depends on the sorting process implied by the selective constructions of memory. Keeping the past alive in the present requires an active memory that continually reinvents key moments, stories, and symbols of the shared tradition. In the aftermath of storm's destruction, Aeneas's comforting words to his crew suggest just such a process of retention and transformation.

Finding one's own place in what is perceived to be an unbroken chain linking the present to its place(s) of origin authorizes the very changes that both recall and rework, in order to reauthenticate, the past's monuments. Given the importance of such *inventio*, Mary Carruthers persuasively compares the value that modern culture places on imagination to that associated with memory in the medieval context.[1] Examples abound, in the statuary of Gothic cathedrals or the "translations" of Latin works into the vernacular, to demonstrate that artists and writers of the European middle ages characteristically presented their classical and Biblical models in medieval dress, literally and figuratively, adapting them for their own purposes to remember and renew the past. Such adaptations entail remembrance, to be sure, but also a kind of willful forgetting, as when the goddess Diana—removed from the Greek and Roman pantheon, then relocated among the magicians and fairies acceptable to a thirteenth-century public[2]—sets the stage for the Lady of the Lake and her rescue of baby Lancelot. A relative latecomer on the stage of Arthurian history, yet still well-known today, the figure of Lancelot reminds us that the process of remembering and forgetting that links medieval culture to its past also operates within the contemporary and evolving cultures of the medieval world.

Geoffrey of Monmouth included the story of Arthur's kingdom, its glorious flowering followed by a disastrous end, in his history of the kings of Britain (*Historia regum Britanniæ,* 1136-1138). Wace translated and embellished the legend for a French-speaking public toward the middle of the century (c. 1155). In both renditions, Mordred's revolt and appropriation of Guenevere precipitate the fall of Arthur's kingdom. Neither mentions Lancelot. Yet when Chrétien de Troyes wrote his version of the Queen's abduction (1177-1180), in a romance whose success reverberated for centuries thereafter, the knight whose quest leads to the rescue of the queen and the liberation of Arthur's people held prisoner by Meleagant is none other than

fig. 21

Yvain Riding
Prose Lancelot
Northeastern France,
1300-1320
manuscript on vellum
The Pierpont Morgan
Library, New York,
MS 805, fol. 122v

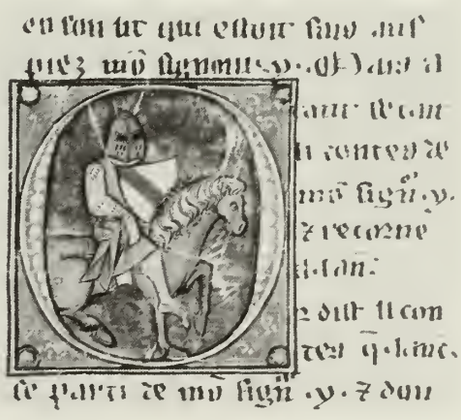


fig. 22

Lancelot Riding
Prose Lancelot
Northeastern France,
1300-1320
manuscript on vellum
The Pierpont Morgan
Library, New York,
MS 805, fol. 123v

no. 51a

Lancelot Arriving at Galehot's Tomb
Prose Lancelot
Northeastern France, 1300–1320
manuscript on vellum
The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, MS 806, fol. 185r

Lancelot of the Lake. Chrétien's romance offers the first piece of written evidence that testifies to a process of remembering and forgetting triggered by the name Lancelot.

That process invites the public of medieval romance to forget Geoffrey's version of Arthur's reign and remember instead the tale elaborated by a cycle of prose romances written during the first part of the thirteenth century, commonly designated as the Vulgate Cycle. There Lancelot's own story, as initiated in the *Prose Lancelot* (c. 1215–1225), becomes the centerpiece of Arthurian history.[3] In *La Mort le roi Artu* (*The Death of King Arthur*, c. 1225–1230), the last "branch" of the cycle added after *La Queste del saint graal* (*The Quest for the Holy Grail*, c. 1220–1225), Lancelot's love for the queen leads to problems of rivalry, hatred, and vengeance among Lancelot, Arthur, and Gawain, all of which combine with Mordred's revolt to bring down the Arthurian ideal. Recounted chronologically from early childhood through death, Lancelot's biography thus constitutes the warp through which the complex and multifaceted story of Arthur's kingdom is woven. It is the task of this essay to demonstrate how the figure of Lancelot becomes fixed in the medieval memory through a series of highly successful verbal texts and visual images. The objects gathered together to demonstrate that process show how image and text remain interconnected: the narrative has been so powerfully encoded in cultural memory that specific images may even operate independently without losing their referentiality.

Chrétien's Lancelot bursts upon the Arthurian scene paradoxically as a character already well known, yet unrecognized through large portions of *Le Chevalier de la Charrete* (*The Knight of the Cart*). Midway through the tale, when the queen reveals his identity to the participants in the story, as well as the romance public, we learn that the name "Lancelot of the Lake" suggests a knight whose stature reassures the crowd and presupposes his eventual, though skillfully delayed, success. If Lancelot's repeated absorption in love meditations indicates the depth of his passion for the queen, their single night of shared joy may be the first consummation of a love whose future remains open-ended and unpredictable at the romance's close.

Chrétien's focus on an intense slice from Lancelot's career as knight and lover simultaneously places his story within Arthurian history and removes it from the relentless teleology of Geoffrey's and Wace's narratives. Their ending has been at least temporarily deferred, if not consigned to oblivion. Those familiar with the whole story may locate Chrétien's tale in the *pax arthuriana* already amplified in Wace's version.[4] But given the introduction of a fascinating and irresistible new hero, the taste for Lancelot soon leads writers and readers into a forest of adventures that not only delay but finally rewrite the end of Arthurian history.

Readers in the medieval context are primarily listeners, one person reading aloud for the benefit of all who gather round. In a genre that functions primarily in the setting of seigneurial courts before an audience of counts and barons, knights and ladies, romance authors use a number of stylistic devices and organizational maneuvers to deal with the oral/aural character of their reception. In the *Chevalier de la Charrete*, Chrétien not only bequeaths to subsequent writers the character of Lancelot, he adumbrates a new way of telling Arthurian stories that will be systematically expanded in the *Prose Lancelot* and subsequent branches of the Vulgate Cycle, thereby establishing a new relationship between romance and reading public. As Chrétien tells it, two knights strive to rescue Queen Guenevere. At a critical juncture, each must choose a path that will lead to a bridge connecting Arthur's land to Meleagant's. Gawain chooses the easier Bridge Under Water, Lancelot the formidable Sword Bridge which no one has ever crossed. The narrator follows Lancelot, the main focus of interest, whose incognito heightens our curiosity. Only after Lancelot has painfully but tenaciously crossed the cutting edge of the Sword Bridge, fought twice against Meleagant, and been captured through treachery, do we learn that Gawain has nearly drowned at the Bridge Under Water and must be rescued by the party vainly searching for the imprisoned Lancelot.

fig. 23

Lancelot and Guenevere's First Kiss
Prose Lancelot
Northeastern France, 1300-1320
manuscript on vellum
The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, MS 805, fol. 67r

no. 51b

Lancelot Crossing the Sword Bridge
Prose Lancelot
Northeastern France, 1300-1320
manuscript on vellum
The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, MS 806, fol. 166r

In this narrative segment, Chrétien develops in embryo several of the characteristics that will become cornerstones of the prose romancers' art: (1) the use of multiple heroes who generate a multiplicity of plot lines, the thickness that eventually reconnects individual adventures to the chronology and complexity of Arthurian history, and (2) the technique of interlacing (*entrelacement*) that weaves together all the strands of the story. The alternating designs of the interlace juxtapose each hero's adventures, intertwining them in bits and pieces as they build contrasts and similarities to measure and rank the knights' accomplishments. No longer can the public conceptualize an overview of the action based on discrete episodic units, as in most twelfth-century romances. In the interlaced prose romances, the reader enters a dense forest of adventures whose beginnings and endings overlap, sometimes interweaving their fragments across hundreds of pages and making any vertical cut a view into crisscrossing paths and incomplete actions.[5] The total picture grows slowly, incrementally, and, although the underlying impetus of the romance cycle strives for totalization, we can wonder if it is ever possible for a contemporary audience to grasp it (just as current viewers of soap operas may constantly find themselves "in the middle" without controlling either the beginning or end of ongoing stories).

New narratorial formulas guide the reader through the sometimes dizzying maze of adventures, plots, and subplots spun out over thousands of pages: "Ci endroit dist li contes" ("Here the story says"), "En ceste partie dist li contes" ("In this part the story says"), "Or dist li contes" ("Now the story tells"). In the verbal text, these are explicit flags that signal what the narrator is about to describe (see figs. 21 and 22). They function as the narrative equivalent to a shift in gears, as the story stops telling about one character whose adventures will be held in suspense while we return to another character left earlier at a similar moment of uncompleted action: "But here the story stops speaking for a bit about [Lancelot] and returns to my lord Gawain who is searching for him. Here the story tells that since my lord Gawain began his quest for the knight who conquered the Dolorous Guard..."[6] The agency of transition here is less the voice of a narrator than the impersonal movement of the story itself whose complexities of plot and characters require a highly orchestrated system of steps forward, backward, and sideways to recall and advance the multiple storylines. At this point in the narrative, we have been engrossed in following Lancelot's varied and proliferating movements since his first major victory at the Dolorous Guard and have probably lost track of Gawain and his vow to search for the unknown victor. The narrative formulas fix the moment of leaving Lancelot for future reference, remind us where Gawain was left and then continue the interrupted progress of his quest until once again the story will return to Lancelot just as we left him.

Forgetting and remembering seem inextricably tied to this new, interlaced shape for romance. The linearity of the narrative takes on a

no. 52

Leaf of a Writing Tablet
France, 14th century
ivory
Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Ann Payne Blumenthal, 1938.
acc. no. 38.108

spasmodic yet fluid rhythm, as different plot lines stop and start, fall behind and then catch up to each other. Such a narrative style invites us to focus on the events of the moment, caught temporarily between the boundary markers of those formulas, before they are swept along in the overarching chronology of the plot. The narrative formulas function as *aide-mémoire*, a continual stream of small reminders that segment blocks of prose, recall and fix in our minds the actions temporarily frozen or released into motion.

This spatialization of narrative becomes visually explicit in the twenty-five manuscripts that include illuminations. The first two volumes of the Pierpont Morgan Library's *Prose Lancelot*, originally a single volume from Northern France dated to the beginning of the fourteenth century, contain 136 historiated letters and forty large rectangular miniatures, usually with multiple scenes across three columns of text.[7] Each of those formulas of transition are locations for pictures that fill the opening letters of *Or*, *Ci*, and *En*, thus accentuating the rhythm of the interlace. The historiated letters help us see literally the figures about to resume their role in the action: for example, the Lady of the Lake abducting the baby Lancelot, surrounded by the water and fish of the lake that fill up the sides and bottom of the letter O (fol. 5v). Images framed in the letters tend to be highly stylized, with frequently recurring conventionalized signs indicating knights, castles, chapels, walled cities, and so on. Their precise meaning is clearly keyed to the given passage in which they are located: thus Yvain in the letter C (fig. 21, fol. 122v) is represented much like Lancelot in the letter O (fig. 22, fol. 123v), a helmeted knight on horseback with shield and lance, placed on a plain gold background with no landscape details. We recognize the difference through the interaction of words and pictures.[8]

In discussing the relationship between text and image in the layout of a medieval manuscript page, Michael Camille emphasizes the disruptive character of the pictorial image that leads away from the verbal text and introduces an implicit tension between two signifying codes, discursive and figural.[9] Such disruption seems particularly appropriate in a narrative that has already rejected a course of smooth progression in favor of multiple interlaces continually interrupting the narrative flow. Indeed, the coordination of visual and verbal disruptions, brought together in the historiated letters, may actually enhance our memory of the story. In his extremely popular thirteenth-century *Bestiaires d'Amour*, Richart de Fournival describes sight and hearing as the two gates that lead into memory through the media of *painture* (painting) and *parole* (speech).[10] Moments doubly represented in text and image are set more forcefully into the reader's memory, as the illustrated text puts into play a multiplicity of faculties and senses. Clearly the reception of the *Prose Lancelot* as represented in the Morgan manuscript assumes an audience not only listening to a story read out loud and formulating pictures in the mind's eye, but also looking at the pictures on the page to appreciate the illuminator's visualization of the verbal text.[11] The time spent sharing the image, identifying its figures and their import, brings the eye to a full stop and lengthens the transitional pause before the readers plunge once again into the narrative flow.

Given the huge proliferation of characters and adventures accumulated across the vast edifice of the *Prose Lancelot* and the even larger Vulgate Cycle, it is not unlikely that passages not so clearly marked may be forgotten in the overwhelming press of events. Even if the memories of medieval audiences are more highly developed than their modern counterparts', surely the prose romances' own size and multiplicity problematizes total retention. Some events, some characters will

no. 54b

Lid Panel of Casket with Scene from the Châtelaine de Vergi
France, 14th century
ivory
Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917.
acc. no. 17.190.180

no. 54a

Lid of Casket with Scenes from the Chastelaine de Vergi
France, 14th century
ivory
Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917.
acc. no. 17.190.180

no. 53

Ivory Mirror Case with God of Love in Tree and Lovers
England or Germany,
1340-1350
ivory
Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore,
acc. no. 71.193

be forgotten in the mass, no doubt to highlight all the more effectively the superiority of those which stand out. And that, of course, brings Lancelot back into focus here.

In her book on memory, Mary Carruthers emphasizes the "physical matrix of the whole memorative process, the affective character of the memory image itself."[12] There is surely no character throughout the entire Vulgate Cycle who can compete with the affective force generated by Lancelot. How does the *Prose Lancelot* build upon and develop the mystique already surrounding him in Chrétien's romance? How does the Morgan manuscript further enhance Lancelot's power to captivate and hold the public's heart, the very seat of memory in the middle ages? A simple tabulation of pictures will give a quick overview of Lancelot's role at center stage, even before we consider the verbal text: Lancelot appears in 38 out of 136 historiated letters. By contrast, we may compare this with 12 appearances for Arthur and 17 for Gawain. Lancelot's predominance is even more striking in the large miniatures, where he appears in 29 out of 40: 15 out of 19 in vol. I (in each of the first seven); 14 out of 21 in vol. II. In many of the miniatures that contain multiple scenes, Lancelot appears more than once, as on fol. 185 (no. 51a), where we see him three times: he meets first a damsel, then some monks (despite changes in color between these first two images, the helmeted Lancelot is easily identified by his shield); finally a grieving Lancelot appears before his friend Galehot's tomb.

The focus on Lancelot, clearly visible on the figural level, reflects and substantiates his equally compelling dominance on the discursive level. Chronological expansion of the narrative, as already noted, plays an important role here. Taking up several vague allusions included in the *Charrete*, the prose romancer begins his story with an extensive amplification of Lancelot's background before the adventure told in the Cart episode: at the age of two or three, Lancelot is spirited away from his mother after the death of his father, King Ban, and the capture of his land by Claudas; the Lady of the Lake thus provides Lancelot a haven of peace where her love fosters maximum development of his potential, signaled by his physical and moral beauty. Once he has reached the age of eighteen, the Lady of the Lake sends Lancelot to Arthur's court to be knighted, and from the moment he sets eyes on the queen his development as "the best knight in the world" is ineluctably tied to his love for her. Taking his cue from Chrétien, the prose romancer expands the mystery of Lancelot's identity: raised without knowing his name, he will learn it only by achieving his first great adventure at the Dolorous Guard. A complicated series of events extends the suspense to include all the members of Arthur's court, most especially the queen.[13]

A brief look at the account of Lancelot's accomplishments put together by the queen during their first private meeting may give some sense of the proliferation of adventures that have already crystallized around Lancelot to make him the most extraordinary knight in the romance. It suggests as well the care with which the romancer and the characters—in their desire for Lancelot—seek him out, recall his deeds and remind themselves and the public of his prowess. Paradoxically, Lancelot's frequent use of incognito, even after his identity becomes public knowledge, serves the process of remembering, as if the temporary blanks and risks that anonymity entails provide the very key to further enhancement of his name and reputation. Incognito provides motivation for the repetition of Lancelot's deeds as performed and then reported when his identity is later revealed. In addition to amplification, such repetition plays

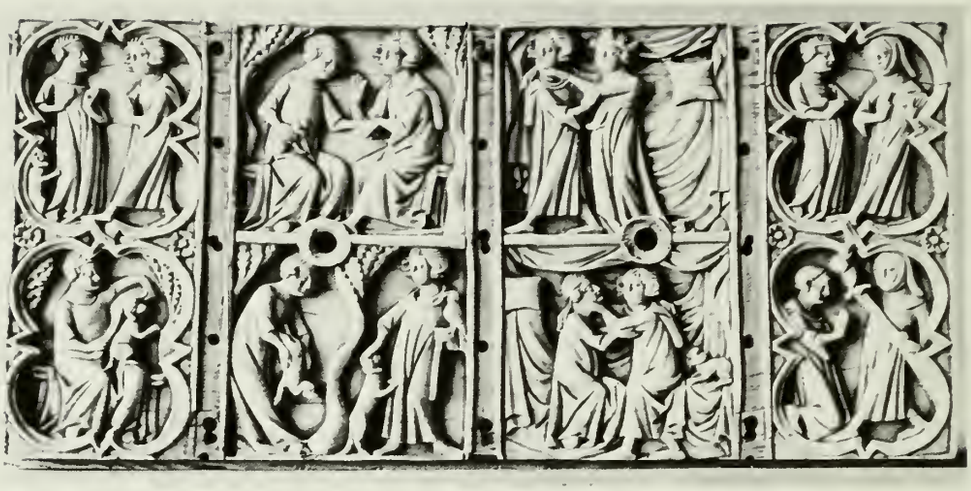


fig. 24

Lid of Casket with Scenes from the Chastelain de Vergi
France, 14th century
ivory
Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917, acc. no. 17.190.177

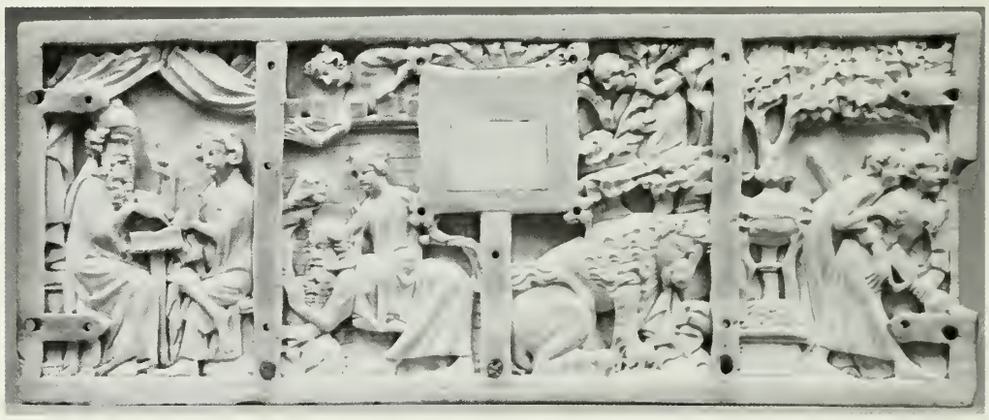


fig. 25

Front Panel of Casket with Arthurian Scenes
Paris, c. 1320–1340
ivory
Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, acc. no. 1988.16, 17.190.173

an important role in impressing Lancelot on the readers' memory. The first major instance of this technique occurs in the meeting between Lancelot and the queen that culminates in their first kiss.

The queen's extensive list of Lancelot's deeds is too long to quote here in toto (their dialogue extends over eight pages in Micha's edition), but the opening passage suggests the rhythm of their exchange, as both acknowledge the past and their particular understanding of it:

> 'Dear Sir, why are you concealing your identity from me? Truly there is no reason for it. In any case, you can at least tell me if you are the knight who was victorious at the encounter the other day?'
> 'No, my lady,' he said.
> 'What?' she said; 'did you not have the black armour?'
> 'Yes, my lady.' ...
> 'Then was it not you who wore Galehot's armour on the final day?'
> 'Yes, my lady,' he said, 'that is true.'
> 'Then was it not you who was victorious at the encounter on the second day?'
> 'My lady,' he said, 'it was not, truly.'
> Then the Queen realized that he did not wish to admit that he had been victorious there, and she esteemed him highly for it.[14]

The rapid pace of questions and answers evokes in detail all the major and minor moments that have so far marked not only Lancelot's performance as knight but also his service for love of the queen. This opening segment sets the tone of their dialogue, in which the queen plays the role of interrogator, ever probing, pressing, and even teasing Lancelot to make him reveal the connections between past events, the height of his prowess, and the depth of his passion. Her forty questions outline not only Lancelot's specific deeds at court, at the Dolorous Guard, at various assemblies, etc., but the motivation behind them. Lancelot answers each question truthfully, humbly, sometimes reluctantly, but finally with an outpouring of details and explanations that give full expression to his love. The queen clearly knows, or at least suspects, the answers to her questions: what she seeks from Lancelot is a full confirmation of his past as it leads up to the present moment, an open declaration of his love, its origin and exclusive focus on the queen, its translation into acts of valor such as no other knight has accomplished. When Lancelot's awe before the queen prevents him from making any request, despite her willingness to grant him a

gift, Galehot (who has arranged their meeting) asks that she give Lancelot her love and guarantee her promise with a kiss.

The moment when Lancelot and the queen, shielded by Galehot, lean toward each other and kiss—with the queen once again taking the initiative—is surely one of the best remembered in the entire *Prose Lancelot*. It is the very moment evoked in *Inferno* V, when Francesca explains to Dante how she and Paolo were reading together in the "book of Galeotto" and were led by the lovers' example to kiss and thus commit the sin of adultery that sent them to hell. While Dante's framing of this famous scene stresses the negative results of their reading, it attests as well the affective power of that image.[15] We do not know if Francesca's manuscript was illuminated. The verbal description in the text is sufficiently detailed to give a full picture of the lovers' actions:

> Then the three of them moved close together and pretended to confer. The queen saw that the knight did not dare do more, and so she took him by the chin, and kissed him for quite a long time in front of Galehot, so that the Lady of Malohaut knew that she was kissing him.[16]

Such a scene was irresistible for illuminators: the program of miniatures that appears in illustrated manuscripts of the *Prose Lancelot* typically includes this important narrative climax. The Morgan's version (fig. 23) offers a particularly powerful and elegant visualization of the scene. The strongly horizontal frame of the miniature is divided here, as elsewhere, into two parts, one half against a gold background, the other rose with a diapered pattern highlighted in blue. Bipartition of the picture field highlights the division of the scene, the space on the left reserved for the private encounter of the lovers brought together by Galehot, the one on the right, another trio differently configured in which a male figure can be seen in conversation with the Lady of Malohaut and Lore of Carduel, the rhythm of their hand gestures indicating the vivacity of their exchange kept in circular motion by the directions of their pointing fingers.[17]

The Loomises identify the man in the second group as Galehot's seneschal, sent to entertain the two ladies accompanying the Queen, while Galehot helps Lancelot and Guenevere initiate their conversation.[18] While this reading is not unlikely, it is also possible to identify him as another representation of Galehot, since the same blue robe associates both Galehot on the left and the male figure on the right (minor changes in color on the undersleeves and hose are not unlike the color variations in the representation of Lancelot on fol. 185). In the Loomis reading, the two sides of the miniature occur simultaneously; in my interpretation, the "movement" of Galehot from one side to the other follows the chronological development of the narrative during which Galehot first brings Lancelot and Guenevere together, then leaves them in truly private *tête-à-tête* to share the conversation discussed above, and finally returns to the couple to orchestrate the exchange of their first kiss. The moment of maximum revelation bridging the past and the present through the agency of memory would thus add its power to the promise sealed in their first kiss.

However we choose to interpret the counterpoint between the two halves, what remains most striking is the simplification of the background, an artistic choice that allows the viewer to concentrate on the figures and, most particu-

fig. 26

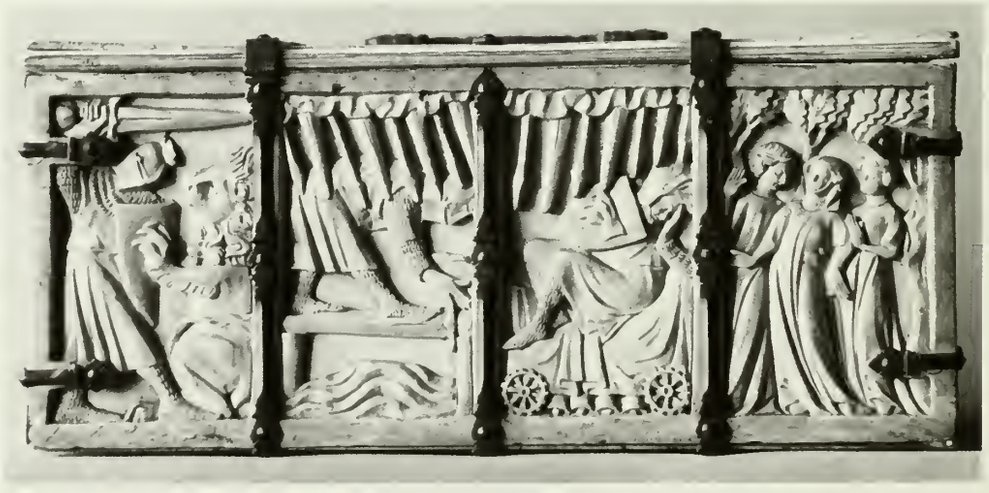
End Panel of Casket with Arthurian Scenes
Paris, c. 1320–1340
ivory
Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, acc. no. 17.190.173

larly, on the lovers, whose white faces move toward each other and stand out against the blue of Galehot's robe. The three figures form a wide triangle, doubled by the smaller, inner triangle of their three faces. In his discussion of the often negatively charged medieval representations of the kiss, Camille compares this triangular configuration to representations of the Trinity and sees it as a type of recall designed to elevate the moment into "a divine union of souls."[19] It is worth remembering here certain christological echoes associated with Lancelot earlier in Chrétien's romance, especially in relation to his crossing of the Sword Bridge. This is not to say that Lancelot is a figure for Christ according to any typological scheme; rather Christianity's greatest hero is appropriated by romancers and illuminators to enhance and magnify the value of Lancelot and his extraordinary achievements through love.

The lovers' hands and arms intertwine here in a complex overlapping pattern, as Galehot simultaneously gestures with his right hand to call our attention to the significance of the kiss and maintains his connection with each lover, his arm stretched out over the Queen's back, his right foot reaching across and under Lancelot's. The pattern of interlace that characterizes the narrative texture can be seen here visually in the three figures' embrace, just as the juxtaposition of the two distinct sides of the miniature recalls the movements from one character to another as verbally inscribed in the formulas of transition. Little wonder then that such a moment, as it captures all that precedes and prepares much of what follows, should be printed indelibly in our memories through the emotional appeal of a powerfully evocative image.

The accuracy and sensitive attention to detail with which the Morgan illuminator represents the verbal text can be seen in other large miniatures, notably in the visualization of Lancelot crossing the Sword Bridge. One of the most famous scenes from Lancelot's career, it passes directly from Chrétien's *Charrete* into the prose romance.[20] Images of the emotion-packed scene abound both in manuscripts and on ivory caskets.[21] In the Morgan Library manuscript (no. 51b), Lancelot's painful progress across the Sword Bridge is observed by the queen and King Baudemagus (Meleagant's father), both of whom are shown gesturing in Lancelot's direction from the top of a tower located just beyond the center of the miniature. Baudemagus's head and right hand extend into the left half and thus bring the figures in to witness Lancelot's extraordinary prowess. Again the illuminator plays with the distribution of his bipartite spaces, setting up an interaction that recalls the interlacing of the narrative. Highlighted against the plain gold backgound and isolated far to the left of the miniature, Lancelot's bent-over body, framed by stylized trees arching toward him, stands out with particular clarity. The illumination carefully shows several important textual details: the way Lancelot has secured his shield behind his back, the blood that pours from his hands and feet (suggesting comparison with Christ's wounds). Once across the Sword Bridge, Lancelot will fight against the two lions shown waiting.[22]

As we continue to read across the miniature, the second scene represented occupies the remaining third of the frame and shows Lancelot at the far right being greeted by Baudemagus and his courtiers: Lancelot's now erect pose signals his readiness for immediate battle, despite the wounds incurred during his crossing. The verbal text makes much of his efforts to conceal his identity throughout the scene, though Guenevere and the king correctly guess that it is indeed Lancelot, since no one else could perform such a feat. In the miniature, however, Lancelot is shown twice with his face unconcealed, his shield readily identifiable as the second in a series of three worn at the Dolorous Guard. The illuminator has thus clearly preferred to highlight Lancelot's identity in a well known scene, relocated in the prose ro-



Ivory Panel of Casket with Tristan Scene
Paris, 1320–1340
Ivory
Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection
50.145.153

mance to a moment in Lancelot's career when his reputation and secret love affair with the queen have already been elaborately developed in the narrative action.

Given this particular feat's ability to characterize and memorialize the kind of heroism typical of Lancelot as knight and lover, it is not surprising that medieval artists repeatedly chose this scene for representation independently of the verbal text. It appears on a number of ivory caskets produced in Paris in the second quarter of the fourteenth century and presumably used by noble purchasers who were also consumers of romance. Although luxury items in ivory were frequently carved with courtly scenes, they just as frequently remained at the level of generic representation with no specific textual reference, as we see on the leaf of a fourteenth-century French writing tablet (no. 52), whose four scenes depict various stages of courtship.[23] The lady first turns away from a would-be lover who aggressively places his hand on her breast (top left); in a more intimate moment (top right), the man again takes the lead as one arm goes round the lady's shoulders and the other hand comes up to chuck her chin.[24] The game of chess (below left), in which the man appears to let the lady win all his pieces, leads her to accept his love (below right): he kneels before her and places his hand in hers in a typical gesture of submission that recalls the bonds of fidelity sworn between lord and vassal (the vertical angle of his hand also places it against the lady's breast and recalls the earlier image, her refusal now reversed). We can observe the same gestures on a fourteenth-century (German or English) mirror case (no. 53).[25] From the top of a tree, the God of Love presides over the scenes below: on the left, a man places his hand on the lady's breast, while she holds a chaplet and moves willingly toward him; on the right, she places the chaplet on his head as he kneels before her with the same gestures of submission we saw on the writing tablet leaf. These examples can begin to suggest the conventions frequently used by ivory carvers to depict courtly scenes of love but lead us to no particular love story, only the universal narrative program that underlies countless medieval poems and stories.

At the opposite extreme of representation are ivory carvings that include a cycle of scenes telling a complete and specific story. For example, a fourteenth-century ivory casket from the Metropolitan Museum depicts the tragic story of the *Chastelaine de Vergi*, a short narrative poem from the thirteenth century (nos. 54a and 54b).[26] The conventional images of love and courting are elaborated through its particular narrative. The secret that permits the lady to accept and share the love of a knight, once revealed, is circulated from the knight's lord (the duke), to the duke's wife, and from the malicious duchess back to the chatelaine, who dies when she learns the knight has betrayed their secret. Discovering her body, the knight kills himself; the duke avenges both by killing his wife. Two *Chastelaine de Vergi* caskets in the Metropolitan's collection illustrate how carvers may exercise a range of small decisions affecting the choice, placement and embellishment of scenes, while the overall set of images tied to the plot remains consistent. The story begins on the lid: while one box (fig. 24) conforms to those analyzed by Laila Gross, in which we read each of the two halves of the lid according to a Z-pattern, the other (no. 54a) lays out the eight scenes in two horizontal bands. This change in layout creates a different set of juxtapositions in the interplay of images. The horizontal distribution, for example, brings side by side the sixth and seventh scenes, the lovers seated together contrasting with the knight's rejection of the duchess. The storyline then follows around the sides from the back to the front. On the right end panel (no. 54b), we can again see the individuality of this version, in the way the artist has left the two scenes unsegmented, using a doorway on the left side to show the maiden bringing

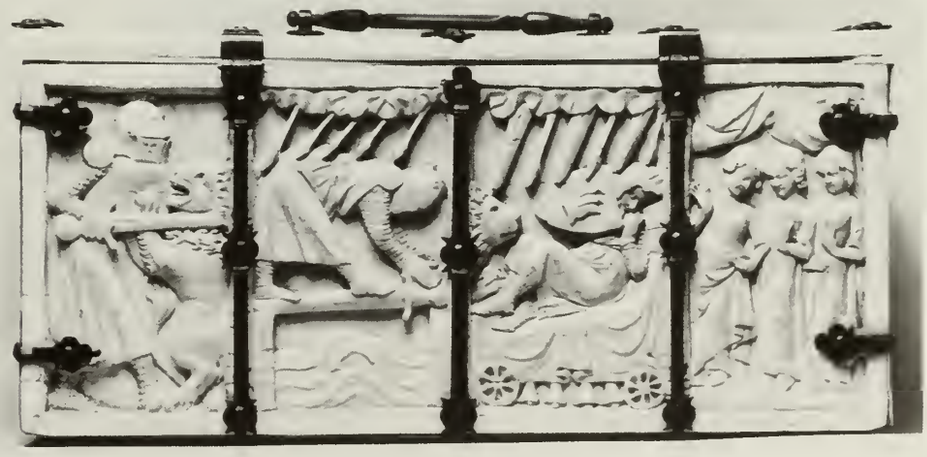


fig. 28

Back Panel of Casket with Arthurian Scenes
France, 14th century
ivory
Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore,
acc. no. 71.264

no. 55

Arthur and Guenevere Hosting a Tournament at Camelot on Christmas
Dunois Master
(Jean Haincelin?)
Paris, c. 1444
tempera on vellum
Sharon and Neil Phillips/
Phillips Family Collection

no. 56

Tournament at Camelot: Arthur's Forces Prevailing over Baudemagus's
Dunois Master
(Jean Haincelin?)
Paris, c. 1444
tempera on vellum
Sharon and Neil Phillips/
Phillips Family Collection

no. 57

Hector Imprisoned
Dunois Master
(Jean Haincelin?)
Paris, c. 1444
tempera on vellum
Sharon and Neil Phillips/
Phillips Family Collection

the knight into the private chamber. The scene of the chatelaine's death is thus enlarged: she lies on an impressive bed with elaborate draperies, her arms crossed in death as the knight, bending over her body, kills himself with the sword.

The images correspond so carefully to each of the major scenes in the story (constructed through a series of two-person dialogues) that, should you forget one, you can easily remember it by looking at the orderly progression of the carvings. Gross even suggests that someone unfamiliar with the *Chastelaine de Vergi* could actually figure it out from the detailed and ironically symmetrical visualizations of the story.[27] The recurrent images of hands evoking the exchange of fidelity oaths, the placement of beds and sword, all reinforce the relentless linking of love and death, caused by the conflict of loyalties.

Equally referential and tied to narrative are the ivory caskets that present a varied selection of scenes from specific and identifiable stories. They require, however, a greater act of recall on the part of observers, since they give only a brief evocation of each story in one, two, or three scenes.[28] Their referentiality, operating in a visual context separate from a written text, bears witness to the familiarity of the story and its persistence in cultural memory. If the story is well-known and circulating in multiple versions, we may not always be able to pin down exactly which text inspired the carvers' visualization, even if we can clearly identify the scene. Such is the case for the Arthurian casket from the Metropolitan Museum of Art.[29] The front panel (fig. 25) shows Aristotle tutoring Alexander, then falling in love with Phyllis, who rides him like a horse despite his wisdom, followed by two scenes from the Pyramus and Thisbe story. The right end shows a knight on horseback saving a damsel from a wild man and then Galahad, Lancelot's son and the successful quester in the *Queste del saint Graal*, receiving the keys of the Castle of Maidens. The opposite panel (fig. 26) depicts, on the right, the culminating moment in the hunt for the unicorn, captured when he lays his head on the lap of a virgin (cf. the Unicorn tapestries in the collection of the Cloisters Museum). On the left, a famous scene from the Tristan and Iseut story shows the lovers' meeting under a pine, while King Mark (hidden above in the tree) is reflected in the fountain below.

The rear panel (fig. 27) is of particular interest here since it includes Lancelot on the Sword Bridge as the second in a series of four discrete scenes. The other three depict Gawain's adventures at the Castle of Ladies, an episode found in Chrétien's last romance, *Le Conte du graal*). On the far left, Gawain fights a lion, whose claw we see in the third scene embedded in his shield, held up to protect him as he lies on the Bed of Marvels and thus triggers the ringing of the bells

no. 51c

Lancelot Fights for Bandemagus in Tournament at Camelot
Prose Lancelot
Northeastern France, 1300–1320
manuscript on vellum
The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, MS 806, fol. 239r

hung on the bedcords, a rain of arrows and crossbow bolts, and the lion's attack.[30] With the lion's defeat already represented on Gawain's shield, the scene on the far right introduces a group of figures coming to congratulate Gawain on his success.

Loomis suggests that the carvers executing these scenes may not have known directly the stories represented, since they introduce certain confusing elements into their visualization, extending the crossbow bolts and arrows across the scene in which Lancelot crosses the Sword Bridge and placing foliage in the background on the far right, even though the people should be located inside the castle.[31] On the other hand, we can recognize some positive results in the choices made by the carvers that involve both aesthetic and narrative values, and perhaps invite a slightly different reading of the scenes. From the point of view of symmetry, the foliage added on the right balances the size of the figures on the left and right scenes: once the carver chose to represent Gawain's sword as a horizontal line ready to fall from the very top of the frame and slice off the lion's head and feet (just as Chrétien's narrative specifies), he could not fill the entire space with the human figures. If he had, the secondary figures at the far right would have been larger than the upright hero on the left, thus violating a general principle of medieval representation in which the most important figures are the largest. Since no significant space is left blank in these panels, the trees conveniently fill in the top and side of the right one, as they frequently do in courtly scenes. Perhaps more appropriately, the carver of a similar ivory casket used draperies to fill the same space (fig. 28), but less felicitously the arrows in his border all slant to the left. The carver of the Metropolitan casket shows his sense of symmetry again, when our eyes follow around the box and discover that the foliage in that fourth scene leads to the trees that frame the Tristan scene represented on the connecting end panel. We have been subtly prepared for a scene of love by the three figures represented under the foliage on the back panel, since the man and woman on the left express with their bodies the same relationship often depicted in lovers. The model for this configuration may well have been one of the many generic courtly scenes found on mirror cases, writing tablets, etc. Here it seems to do double duty, connecting to Gawain's adventure on the left and Tristan and Iseut's tryst around the corner.

This carver seems to be particularly adept in using recurrent motifs to invite interactive reading of the panels. The lion that plays such an important role in the first and third frames of the Arthurian panel echoes the one that appears in the third frame of the front panel: in the first scene from Pyramus and Thisbe, we see the lion bending over the garment left behind by Thisbe, while she hides in the tree above.[32] Her location echoes King Mark's on the end panel, as he spies on the lovers at the fountain. The fourth frame shows Pyramus and Thisbe's double suicide, as both are shown impaled on the same sword. The motif of the sword takes us back visually to the Arthurian scenes: the association between love and violence, suggested in the figural discourse, mirrors the links between combat and love typically associated in romance narrative. The artist's decision to place Gawain's sword above his head not only dramatizes the blow about to fall on the lion, it leads our eyes directly to the next panel where it finds a mirror image in the sword upon which Lancelot seems to struggle forward, totally filling the space from left to right, as the sword does likewise from right to left. We can appreciate why the carver was tempted to extend his border of arrows (every other one of which is shaped like a sword), symmetrically moving from each side panel toward the center of the box and thus associating as well as highlighting the inner two scenes of the four. That is where Lancelot and Gawain appear at parallel moments in their careers, accomplishing extraordinary adventures reserved only for them.[33]

In light of the interplay between Chrétien's and the prose romances' versions of these stories, the interaction between Lancelot and Gawain shown on the ivory panel suggests a number of other interpretations. Lancelot's posture on the Sword Bridge recalls the way he is represented in

the Morgan miniature: back parallel to the sword, knees well above the blade. Inasmuch as this version of the prose romance also describes Lancelot fighting with two lions on the other side of the Sword Bridge, we may wonder if the figure fighting the lion on the far left may not be read doubly as referring to both Gawain and Lancelot. While the scene corresponds perfectly to Chrétien's description in the *Conte du graal* and is visually associated with Gawain in the third scene by the exact replication of the lion's claw, the carver has also strongly associated the knightly figures in the first and second scenes. Both knights wear the same kind of closed helmet, the crest that appears on the first obscured by the frame in the second. Gawain's helmet is of a different type, its visor raised to reveal his face. Perhaps we are meant to associate the two scenes on the right with Gawain (hence the addition of another lion's head in the third scene, as shown in the Walters and the British Museum caskets[34]). The two scenes on the left would be reserved symmetrically for Lancelot. We might speculate further that the attention bestowed on Gawain by the rather anonymous figures on the far right is equally directed toward the appreciation of Lancelot's feat, as their hand gestures invite us to look back across the panel. No specific verbal text requires us to choose among these readings; the visual clues suggest rather that we entertain both interpretations and thereby enrich our appreciation of the carvers' art that has managed to double the possible meanings of the panel and at the same time express figuratively the same kind of interlacing that characterizes not only the narrative style of the prose romances but their appropriation of Chrétien's romances. Rather than confusion, we may speak then of an aesthetic of conflation that corresponds perfectly to the interplay of multiple texts represented on the ivory casket's panels.

Lancelot crossing the Sword Bridge and Gawain on the Bed of Marvels are unique images, so indelibly inscribed on the medieval imagination that they cannot fail to be recognized and remembered, even unaccompanied by a text. But the set of seven miniatures from a private collection in New York suggest that not every scene can be lifted from its verbal context and still retain its specific referentiality. Part of a series of thirty-four miniatures cut from a fifteenth-century *Prose Lancelot* manuscript, these scenes recall the texture of the romance in its multiplicity and thickness.[35]

The two tournament scenes are particularly good reminders that many of the adventures narrated in the prose romance are variations on highly conventional actions.[36] The repeated use of such narrative types helps the reader by providing a thread of recognizability through the maze of accumulated adventures. The variations rouse the readers' curiosity and rank heroes by their degree of success. The stock repertoire of the illuminator likewise includes many general scenes with repeated motifs that can be used in a variety of contexts, the visual equivalent of the romances' narrative types: jousts and tournaments, banquets, encounters with hermits, conversations between knights and ladies, and so on.[37] With-

no. 58

Lancelot Rescuing Guenevere
Dunois Master
(Jean Haincelin?)
Paris, c. 1444
tempera on vellum
Sharon and Neil Phillips/
Phillips Family Collection

no. 59

Lancelot Slays Dragon
Dunois Master
(Jean Haincelin?)
Paris, c. 1444
tempera on vellum
Sharon and Neil Phillips/
Phillips Family Collection

out the verbal narrative, the two miniatures indicated might refer to any of the dozens of tournaments described in the Vulgate Cycle. Relating image and text, we can distinguish more specifically the picture of the earlier assembly at Camelot from that of the later tournament. Long before the Cart episode, the prose romancer planted the seeds of hatred between Lancelot and Meleagant during the Christmas tournament. In the miniature (no. 55), the action begins, as the king and queen watch.[38] The opposition of the two jousting knights, representing the forces of Galehot and King Arthur, is underscored by the pattern of opposing lances and horses. The knights massed on each side carry their lances in a vertical position and thus frame the central action placed in front of the viewers' stand. In the second miniature (no. 56), we see the rout at the end of a later tournament at Camelot, once Lancelot no longer sustains those fighting on the side of Baudemagus.[39] The king and queen with their attendants once again focus on the center of the action taking place before them, although the details of their architectural setting have been considerably elaborated: the walled city fills the background, while a castle gate offers safety to defeated knights, chased by the unopposed lances of their triumphant foes.

Since illuminators of the prose romances often used established pictorial cycles, not surprisingly the same tournament appears in the large miniature on fol. 239 of the Morgan *Prose Lancelot* (no. 51c).[40] What is strikingly different, however, is the treatment of space. While the fourteenth-century manuscript, reflecting the style of the Amiens school, puts its figures into a standing plane, the fifteenth-century Parisian illuminator is working in what Loomis identifies as the third stage of Gothic illumination, in which the figures are subordinated to the surrounding space, the miniature appearing as a pictorial projection of a whole space section.[41] In representing an earlier moment during the tournament at Camelot, the Morgan illuminator takes advantage of his bipartite space to balance the contrasting forces within an overall design, placing a viewing stand in each corner. A series of combats spread across the two halves. Horses and shields appear to move up and down in the picture space, highlighted by the gold and diapered rose backgrounds. That rhythm is further enhanced by raised arms holding swords poised to rain down blows. The clarity that characterizes figures and backgrounds in the Morgan manuscript contrasts with the busy fullness in the Phillips miniatures, as figures move, sit, and stand among a myriad of architectural details, including loge, buildings, castle walls, and towers.

The images cut from this fifteenth-century *Prose Lancelot* have been isolated and presumably enjoyed without respect to specific narrative location. Nevertheless, the text written on the back helps identify each one, locates the specific instance even for typical scenes that recur throughout the narrative. This is as true for Hector's imprisonment (no. 57) as for the tournament scenes, since repeated cycles of imprisonment and liberation furnish much of the

no. 60

Attack at Bridge: Lancelot in an Encounter with Four Knights
Dunois Master
(Jean Haincelin?)
Paris, c. 1444
tempera on vellum
Sharon and Neil Phillips/
Phillips Family Collection

no. 61

Mordred before King Arthur
Dunois Master
(Jean Haincelin?)
Paris, c. 1444
tempera on vellum
Sharon and Neil Phillips/
Phillips Family Collection

[illegible]
Northeastern France
1300–1320
Vellum
The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, MS 805, fol. 109r

narrative momentum in the Vulgate Cycle.[42] In this particular image, Lancelot's brother, shown in the window of an imposing walled castle, is visited by two ladies, one of whom offers to secure his release if he agrees to save her sister.[43] The armed knights shown in a smaller walled castle in the upper right corner remain to be identified: are they knights sent to Hector's aid or possibly Hector with his captors, now ready to begin the quest? As Camille argues in "The Book of Signs," the medieval distrust of visual signs requires the written text to specify how the viewer should understand the picture, yet even where narrative and miniature are immediately juxtaposed, it may not always be clear what interpretation applies.[44]

Three of Lancelot's feats represented in miniatures from the Phillips collection suggest both the repeated patterns of his prowess, as well as the ceaseless renewal of his triumphs through the variations of particular episodes.[45] In no. 58, Lancelot rescues the Queen during a hunting expedition (note the dogs in the upper left and the forest surrounding her), when she is attacked by an unknown knight. Incognito and reluctantly fulfilling a vow, Bohort has already unhorsed two knights (three according to the narrative), when he is defeated by Lancelot.[46] At a cemetery outside the walls of Corbenic (the Grail castle), Lancelot has raised the stone slab covering a tomb and now faces the fire-breathing dragon that emerges (no. 59).[47] According to the text, an inscription on the tombstone announces the birth of Galahad and relates this scene to a number of earlier ones in which tombstone inscriptions revealed Lancelot's name, forecast his liberation of the queen from Meleagant and his failure in the Grail quest. No. 60 shows the attack on a bridge, when four knights challenge Lancelot.[48] He appears to pause after knocking the first knight off his horse and into a river: the text informs us that Lancelot is quite amused that the knights take him to be Kay, whose arms he inadvertently donned instead of his own. Each of these scenes captures the energy of Lancelot's physical and moral strength, whether in the tilt of his thrusting lance, broken through the body of an opponent, or the boldly raised blade of his sword, ready to fall on the dragon's head.

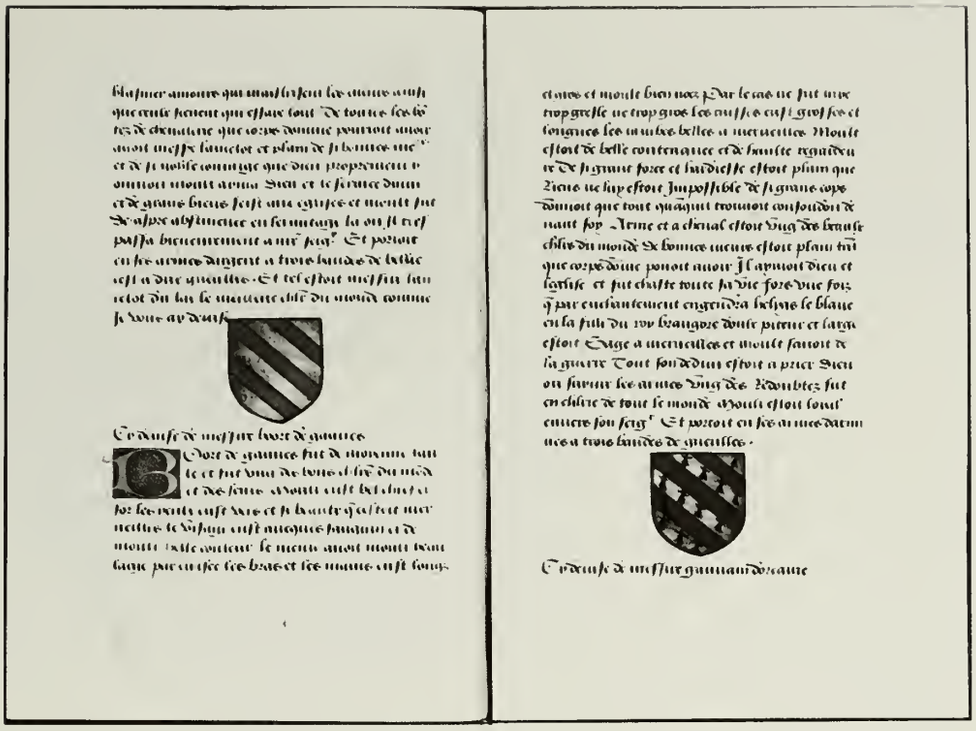
These images help the reader to visualize and remember Lancelot's courage against a large variety of opponents, the constant theme of his prowess as the best knight in the world, until the darker themes of the Grail quest limit his success. The final scene in the Phillips series (no. 61) comes from the last branch of the cycle, when Mordred announces to King Arthur that Lancelot has rescued Guenevere and escaped with her to the Joyous Guard (the name given to the Dolorous Guard after Lancelot's victory ends the enchantment).[49] In saving the queen from the stake, Lancelot has killed three of Gawain's brothers, sowing an unquenchable hatred for him in his former friend's heart. That hatred contributes as much to the tragic downfall of the last battle on Salisbury Plain as do Lancelot and the queen's adultery and Mordred's treachery. The jealousies that attend Lancelot's prominence and the rivalries between his clan and Gawain's help undo the greatness of Arthur's realm and recall elements of the Tristan story, which are constantly reinvented and transposed into the triangle of Lancelot, Guenevere and the king.[50]

The Vulgate Cycle thus revises the ending for Arthur's kingdom through a complex set of intertwined causes unanticipated by Geoffrey and Wace. In the wake of the Grail quest and the return to court of those knights who fail to complete it, Lancelot and Guenevere can no longer maintain the secrecy of their love, the wheel of Fortune turns and the narrative builds inexorably to the disastrous end. Exiled from Arthur's kingdom, Lancelot makes plans to leave his shield as a substitute for himself ("que mes ecus i soit en leu de moi"): it is to be placed in a church in Camelot where it can be clearly seen "si que tuit cil qui des ore mes le verront aient *en remenbrance* les merveilles que ge ai fetes en ceste terre" ("so that all those who will see it from now on *remember* the marvels that I have accomplished in this country"). Received with great joy, the shield is hung from a silver chain, "as richly as if it were a saint's body."[51]

The shield is a most appropriate symbol

no. 62a

Shields of Lancelot and his Cousin Bohort
Les Noms, Armes et Blasons des Chevaliers et Compagnons de la Table Ronde
France, c. 1500
manuscript on vellum
The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, MS 16, fol. 26v–27r



for Lancelot to choose as a sign not only of himself but of all he has accomplished in his extraordinary career. A fully armed knight typically becomes anonymous, if his shield does not reveal the identity of its bearer. Already in Chrétien's romance, the most prized participants in the tournament at Noauz are identified by the figures on their shields: a bar of gold on a red background, that is Governauz; an eagle and a dragon side by side belongs to the son of the King of Aragon; a leopard on a green part, that is Ignaures; pheasants beak to beak, Coguillanz de Mautirec; and so on.[52]

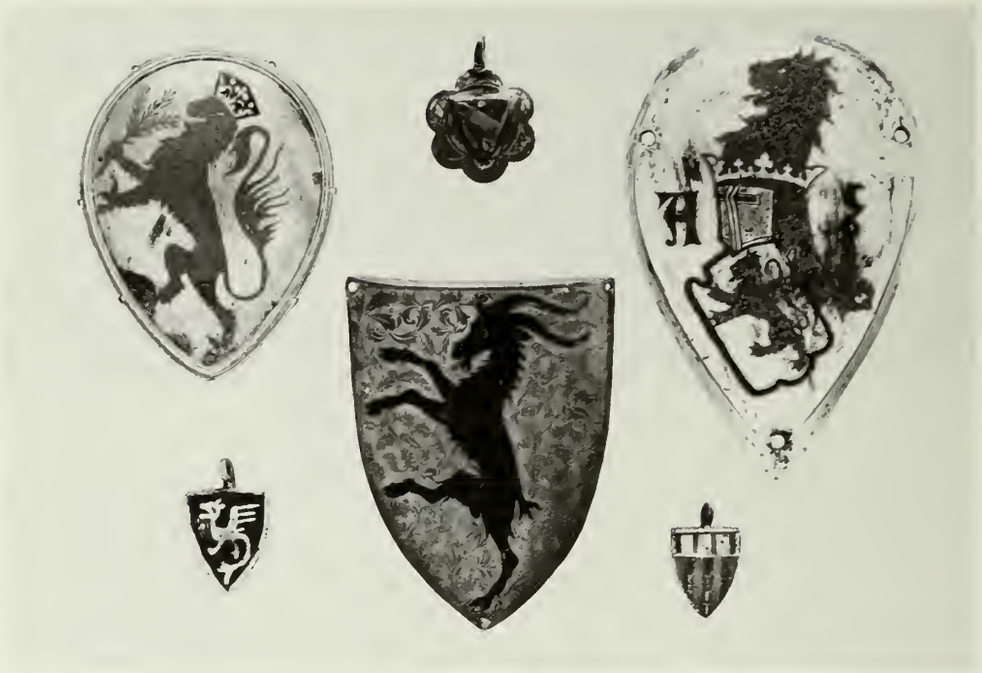
The passage quoted from the *Mort Artu* does not describe Lancelot's shield. In the Vulgate Cycle, he has carried many different ones, as he protects his anonymity and earns his name and reputation. Textual descriptions particularly associate Lancelot first with the white arms and armor furnished by the Lady of the Lake for his knighting at Arthur's court, then with the three shields he wears while triumphing over a series of knights and enchantments at the Dolorous Guard. Sent to him by the Lady of the Lake, they increase Lancelot's strength in proportion to the one, two or three red bars that diagonally cross a white ground. Later Lancelot's love for Guenevere is symbolically represented by the split shield sent to the queen by the Lady of the Lake, upon which the figures of a man and a woman come together in an embrace when Lancelot and the queen first consummate their love. Lancelot does not wear this shield; it remains rather in the queen's safekeeping and is used repeatedly to restore Lancelot to sanity, as in the miniature on fol. 109 of the Morgan manuscript (fig. 29).[53] Lancelot's willingness to erase temporarily his past achievements, as represented by the pattern of changing shields, is ultimately what allows him to achieve the greatness symbolized by the undescribed shield hung in the church at Camelot.

As the Loomises point out, heraldry assumes an important role in the Morgan manuscript, contributing to the decorative design and helping to distinguish particular heroes.[54] When Lancelot crosses the Sword Bridge in the miniature on Morgan fol. 166 (no. 51b), he carries the second of the three shields worn at the Dolorous Guard. At the tomb of Galehot, he holds the first, the shield with a single red bend (no. 51a). Five knights in the tournament scene on fol. 239 (no. 51c) carry the white shield associated with the newly-knighted Lancelot, while miniatures on fols. 158 and 161v show Lancelot's white shield with a red lion rampant, as he rides in the cart (the title episode from Chrétien's romance) and then lifts the tomb of his ancestor Galahad. A white lion rampant frequently appears on Gawain's green shield, as in the tournament miniature on fol. 239 (no. 51c).

In developing such devices, illuminators put to good use specific textual descriptions, but they also copied arms from earlier works, invented their own designs, or borrowed from contemporary blasonry arms belonging to real individuals or families.[55] From the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries, arms were gradually invented and stabilized for the Arthurian heroes in illustrated rolls of arms: by the middle of the thirteenth century, illuminators knew what devices to give Arthur, Lancelot, Perceval, Gawain, Kay, and Tristan; by the end of the thirteenth about thirty Arthurian

nos. 63-68

top, from left:
nos. 63-65, bottom
from left: nos. 66-68
Escutcheons and Badges with Armorial Devices
14th–15th century
champlevé enamel and
gilding on copper
Metropolitan Museum
of Art



heroes had recognizable arms, and so the process continued, eventually including 150 to 180 shields of Arthurian knights in approximately eighty extant manuscripts.[56] *Les Noms, Armes et Blasons des Chevaliers et Compaignons de la Table Ronde*, a French armorial dated c. 1500, from the collection of the Pierpont Morgan Library, visually traces the filiation of Lancelot's and Gawain's clans through the devices represented on their shields.[57]

This family connection is the distinguishing characteristic of heraldry, which institutionalizes devices as hereditary and legal property belonging to a family.[58] In the case of Arthurian heroes like Lancelot, such devices originate in the particular accomplishments that distinguish the family exemplar. They begin as specific signs that keep alive in the public's memory particularly outstanding deeds and accomplishments, just as Lancelot indicates in the gift of his shield in *La Mort Artu*. Armorials thus chose for Lancelot the third shield worn at the Dolorous Guard, giving him the strength of three men, a fitting symbol of extraordinary prowess (no. 62a): three diagonal red bars on a white (or silver) field.[59] Lancelot's father and uncle, his cousins, nephew and half brother, were given arms that show the same three red bends on a silver field, embellished with black stars, crescents, ermines, a label or a blue sun, to distinguish each individual within the family group. Likewise, the coat of arms given to Gawain (no. 62b), a golden double-headed eagle with beak and feet of blue, placed on a purple field, establishes a base for the family group, while variations on the design distinguish individual knights: different color beaks and feet, batons, bars, and borders distinguish his brothers Gaheriet, Agravain, and Guerrehet.[60]

This particular manuscript includes a verbal portrait of each knight before giving a picture of the armorial device. Some of these descriptions are quite short, but Lancelot merits seven manuscript pages (fols. 23v–26v) that give us insight into how fifteenth-century readers viewed him. Presented as "the best knight in the world in his time except for his son Galahad" (fol. 23v), Lancelot's qualities are summarized with little reference to specific deeds: understanding, force, courage, and confidence in his abilities inspired by love, honoring the honorable but felonious against felons, generous, intensely loyal in love to his lady and his king, respectful of religion. The detailed physical description (extending over five folios), as well as the moral portrait, is based textually on a portrait of Lancelot given early in the *Prose Lancelot*.[61] The few references to specific events—Lancelot's generous offer to return Guenevere to King Arthur after giving her refuge at the Joyous Guard, his last years at a hermitage—indicate, however, that his whole story as elaborated in the Vulgate Cycle is reflected in the description. Most significantly, the anonymous writer comments on Lancelot's love for the Queen and admonishes us not to blame Lancelot: "no one should blame him for wrongly loving the wife of his lord King Arthur but one should blame love which masters hearts, as those who have experienced it know."[62] Among fifteenth-century readers, Lancelot remains the Arthurian hero without peer, despite the paradox of his problematic conflict of loyalties in love.

As the variety of shields represented in the Morgan manuscript and the Phillips miniatures attests, illuminators of romance were not always as systematic as the armorials. But the tendency to use the shield as a memory device to help readers recognize and visually place outstanding

no. 62b

Shield of King Lot of Orkney and his Son Gawain
Les Noms, Armes et Blasons des Chevaliers et Compaignons de la Table Ronde
France, c. 1500
manuscript on vellum
The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York.
MS 16, fol. 11r

knights is inscribed in the texts and images that illustrate them. Contemporary medieval practice also demonstrates that such devices were not limited to books and stories: life and art intertwined and influenced each other, as individual knights and aristocratic families from the twelfth century on began to develop heraldic bearings, coats of arms, and helmet crests displayed on banners, horse trappings, surcoats, and seals.[63] We can see evidence of these developments in the use of such devices on fourteenth- and fifteenth-century badges from the collection of the Metropolitan Museum (nos. 63-68). A French badge (no. 68), c. 1400, displays the arms of the counts of St. Pol. A late fourteenth-early fifteenth-century Italian badge (no. 63), although not completely identified, may belong to a branch of the Cotoni family (Genova, Palermo, Venice). A late fourteenth-early fifteenth-century escutcheon (no. 65) shows a helmet crest and shield, while other unidentified badges in the shape of shields (nos. 64, 66, 67) display a variety of devices.[64]

The early sixteenth-century English armorial from the Morgan Library reflects a heraldic tradition still vital well beyond the middle ages.[65] It includes English arms from the Conquest up to the time of the Tudors: each shield is carefully painted and described in the text to the right, which also furnishes information on the owners. On fol. 15 (no. 69) appear arms attributed to King Henry II (1154-89), an important patron of history and letters who used Arthurian themes for political propaganda in the twelfth century. Although there is no direct historical evidence for his arms, he probably had one or more lions on his shield with tinctures like those of the Royal Arms of England (firmly established with King Richard I in 1198): gules, three leopards or.[66] The shield represented beneath King Henry's shows again how the arms of family members vary those of the exemplar: a Plantagenet brother receives arms with eight lions on a red field, combined with the Royal Arms of France (azure, fleur de lys or), placed en abyme.

Just as the tradition of heraldry links art, literature, and life in a continuum that extends beyond the middle ages, so does the figure of Lancelot and his role in Arthurian history come to life in the twelfth century and remain stamped in the public's memory late into the twentieth century through manuscripts, printed books, paintings, and film. Images from Malory's *Morte d'Arthur* and Marion Zimmer Bradley's *The Mists of Avalon*, from John Boorman's *Excalibur* and *Monty Python's Holy Grail* have replaced in the popular mind the images analyzed here—manuscripts, illuminations and ivory carvings that circulated first in aristocratic court circles and, by the late thirteenth century, among well-to-do bourgeois patrons as well.[67] But the proliferation and continual reinvention of such images provide eloquent and convincing testimony to the enduring power of Lancelot to fascinate us by recalling the greatness as well as the calamitous fall of the Arthurian ideal.

no. 69

Royal Arms of England attributed to Henry II
Armorial
England, early 16th century
manuscript on paper
The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York.
MA 960, fol. 15r

Notes

[1] Carruthers 1990, pp. 1–8.

[2] Cf. Camille 1989, pp. 107–114.

[3] The Latin-speaking medieval public obviously does not forget Geoffrey, as the approximately two hundred extant manuscripts of the *Historia* abundantly testify (Stones 1988, p. 52). For the French-reading public, with access to more than ninety manuscripts of the *Prose Lancelot* and approximately fifty of the *Mort Artu*, we can nevertheless see a strong preference for the Vulgate version of Arthurian history.

[4] Bibliothèque Nationale (BN), fr. 1450, includes all five of Chrétien's romances as an interpolation at this point in the *Brut*, with the *Charrete* immediately preceding the resumption of Wace's translation. See Nixon 1993, pp. 20–25.

[5] Lot 1954.

[6] Micha 1978, VII, 381: 32a 15–33a 1. All quotations are taken from the Micha edition of the *Lancelot* and are identified by the volume and page numbers, occasionally followed by Micha's designated chapter and paragraph number. It should be noted that the chronological order of the story requires reading Micha's volumes in a slightly eccentric pattern: VII, VIII, I, II, III, etc. The translations, unless otherwise noted, are my own.

[7] They are identified in the collection as MS. 805–806. The third volume from a fifteenth-century manuscript contains only one miniature.

[8] Twenty-eight letters show a single knight riding, often appearing in a series of three or more, as the knights' adventures are juxtaposed and implicitly compared (e.g. fols. 202, 203v, 204, and 205; 207, 209, 211, 212, 213v, and 215). On the role of the knights' shields in the process of identification, see below.

[9] Camille 1985a, pp. 138–139.

[10] Carruthers 1990, pp. 223–224; for a manuscript illustration of Richart's verbal description, see Stones 1991, fig. 1.

[11] Cf. Carruthers 1990, pp. 221–260. While the historiated letters synchronize pictorial and discursive disruptions, the large miniatures represent important scenes whose description may extend before and after the accompanying illumination. Their placement on the page thus segments more arbitrarily the verbal text: when the reader may decide to stop reading and focus on the illustration is less predictable than with the historiated letters and perhaps more disruptive, in Camille's terms.

[12] Carruthers 1990, p. 169.

[13] The entire trajectory occupies over 400 hundred pages in Micha's edition (1978, vol. VII).

[14] Corley 1989, p. 313.

[15] Cf. Carruthers 1990, pp. 185–188.

[16] Corley 1989, p. 322.

[17] In a comparative study of the first kiss image, Alison Stones points out the extent to which other *Prose Lancelot* manuscripts reuse and transform the same doubled, threefold configuration (Stones 1991, p. 39, fig. 16 and 17). In the Morgan manuscript, it also appears in the preceding miniature on fol. 66: the two groups of three on the right side present first the seneschal and two ladies, then Galehot with the Queen and Lancelot. The crowded spacing of the figures, however, lacks the monumental impact of the triangular configurations represented in the miniature of the first kiss.

[18] Loomis 1938, p. 99.

[19] Camille 1991, p. 164. Illuminators frequently transferred sacred models into lay contexts (Loomis 1938, pp. 89–91; Stones 1976 and 1977).

[20] See Bruckner 1987.

[21] For other manuscript illustrations, see Loomis 1938, fig. 252 and 267, and Micha 1978, vol. II, p. 58a. Loomis lists six ivory caskets (pp. 70–71; see fig. 136 and 137). The Swordbridge crossing even adorns a sculptured capital in the nave of a church at Caen (Loomis 1938, p. 71 and fig. 138).

[22] Cf. Micha 1979, vol. III, p. 314. Prose manuscripts offer several versions of the scene, with or without the lions (see Micha 1978 and 1979, vols. II and III). The Morgan's includes them, as indicated in the miniature.

[23] New York 1975, p. 172, fig. 191.

[24] Cf. Camille 1991.

[25] Randall 1985, p. 224, fig. 328.

[26] The Metropolitan collection includes two such caskets catalogued as 17.190.177 and 17.190.180 (erroneously labeled as 177 in the Fleishman Gallery showcase and in New York 1975). 17.190.180 is included in this exhibition. Cf. a similar casket illustrated in New York 1993, fig. 181. Laila Gross lists six such coffrets and three fragments, indicating the enormous popularity of the story (Gross 1979, p. 312 n. 7).

[27] Gross 1979, p. 317. Cf. Camille 1985b.

[28] Cf. Stones 1987, pp. 24–25, 29–30.

[29] New York 1975, pp. 26–27, p. 10. The scenes on the lid—an assault on the castle of love—may recall the assault on Jealousy's castle in the *Romance of the Rose*, but remain on the whole more generic than specific. A similar ivory box can be found in the collection of the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore (Randall 1985, fig. 38, pl. 195, pp. 224–225, pl. 324).

[30] Although Gawain's hand gesture conventionally suggests sleeping, its role here seems rather to make sure we recognize that he is on a bed, despite that object's unusual features.

[31] Loomis 1938, pp. 71-72.

[32] Cf. the Old French version where she hides in the shade of an almond tree (De Boer 1921), a distinct variation on Ovid's account, where she hides in a cave. We are fortunate that the missing front panel was recently restored to the Metropolitan's Arthurian casket. The front panel from the Walters' box includes two scenes at the Fountain of Youth instead of the Pyramus and Thisbe story, thus significantly changing the set of visual and narrative associations.

[33] Chrétien's romances set up a number of parallels between Gawain, Lancelot, and Perceval (Bruckner 1993).

[34] Loomis 1938, fig. 136.

[35] The manuscript from which they come seems to have been produced by the same atelier as BN, fr. 356-357, an Arthurian romance entitled *Guiron le Courtois*, whose miniatures feature light spring-like colors and figures that remain small in scale relative to their setting (London 1962, p. 1). They have recently been attributed to the Dunois Master (Jean Haincelin?). See Avril-Reynaud 1993, no. 6, p. 37.

[36] The miniatures correspond to nos. 7 and 26 in the catalogue from Alpine Club Gallery.

[37] Stones 1976, pp. 95-96.

[38] Micha 1978, vol. I, pp. 89-93. Although the king and queen do not view the tournament together in the verbal text, they are represented as such in the miniature to heighten the emotion of the scene.

[39] Micha 1979, vol. IV, pp. 356-364.

[40] Cf. Stones 1988.

[41] Loomis 1938, pp. 98 and 104.

[42] Burns 1985, pp. 89-94. This miniature is no. 5 in the catalogue from Alpine Club Gallery.

[43] Micha 1982, vol. VIII, pp. 393-407, especially p. 394 ¶3.

[44] Camille 1985b. Cf. the marginal notations that instruct illuminators on what to represent. In the Morgan *Prose Lancelot*, marginal notes in ink on the types of characters and settings, heraldic devices and their tinctures, are still visible on the page and have been transcribed by Cockerell (1907, pp. 94-116; see Stones 1987, p. 37 and n. 51).

[45] Nos. 19, 24, and 30 in the catalogue of the Alpine Club Gallery.

[46] Micha 1978, vol. II, pp. 267-274.

[47] Micha 1979, vol. IV, pp. 202-203.

[48] Micha 1980, vol. V, pp. 285-289, especially p. 288 ¶21.

[49] *La Mort le roi Artu*, ed. Frappier, p. 127. It corresponds to no. 33 in the catalogue of the Alpine Club Gallery.

[50] Cf. Payen 1973.

[51] Frappier 1964, pp. 161 and 162; emphasis added, my translations.

[52] Chrétien de Troyes 1967, vv. 5773-5822. See Brault 1972, pp. 26-28, on this passage.

[53] The motif of the split shield appears frequently in illuminated manuscripts of the *Prose Lancelot* (Dover 1991). Dover discusses four other examples in manuscripts from the late thirteenth to the late-fourteenth centuries (Dover forthcoming).

[54] Loomis 1938, pp. 99-100. See pl. 2, for a color plate of fol. 185, fig. 250 for fol. 161v, and fig. 251 for fol. 158.

[55] Pastoureau 1993, p. 245.

[56] Pastoureau 1993, p. 246.

[57] See also an earlier copy at Harvard University's Houghton Library, Ms P Typ. 131, French, dated c. 1470, combined with René d'Anjou's *La forme qu'on tenoit des Tournoys* (a book of instructions for organizing tournaments), and a later manuscript (W.463, c. 1510) at the Walters Art Gallery (Randall 1992, pp. 509-20). Sandoz 1944 discusses and transcribes the text on tournaments.

[58] On heraldry and Arthurian literature, see Brault 1972. For a useful overview, see the short article on heraldry by Helmut Nickel in *The Arthurian Encyclopedia* (Lacy 1986).

[59] Heraldry develops a quite specific and limited vocabulary to describe, or blason, the arms of a given family or individual. In the technical language of blasonry used in the armorials, Lancelot bears "armes d'argent a trois bandes de bellic c'est a dire gueulles" (fol. 26v): argent three bends gules (argent = white, bend = diagonal bar, gules = red).

[60] In the offical language of blasonry, the armorial describes Gauvain's device as "armes de pourpre a une aigle d'or a deux testes membrees d'azur" (fol. 11): purpure, a double-headed eagle or. On the changes in Gawain's device in the thirteenth- and fifteenth-century traditions, see Brault 1972, pp. 38-43; Pastoureau 1983, pp. 69-70.

[61] Micha 1980, vol. VII, pp. 71-75.

[62] "[N]ul ne le doit blasmer de ce qu'il aymoit folement la femme de son maistre le roy Artus mais l'on en doit blasmer amours qui maistrisent les cueurs ainsi que ceulx scevent qui essaye l'ont" (ff. 26-26v).

[63] Pastoureau 1993. Cf. Keen 1984, pp. 125-142.

[64] Using the technical language of blasonry to describe the coats of arms represented, the Metropolitan's catalogue identifies these badges as follows. (1) No. 68, 04.3.370: the heraldic charges are gules, three pales vair, a chief or with a lambel azure (a red field, three vertical bars a golden band across the top with a blue label). (2) No. 63, 04.3.299: a lion gules crowned argent holding in dexter paw a sprig of three branches vert (on a field of silver, a crowned red lion holds in his right paw a green sprig). (3) No. 65, 04.3.298: this Italian badge with champlevé enamel on copper gilt displays an achievement of arms: on a mantled helmet, from a ducal crown, a lion's head, placed over a shield or (a golden field) charged with a lion gules (red). (4) No. 64, 04.3.448: a fourteenth-century Spanish badge represents a triangular shield with the charge gules a bend or (a red shield with a diagonal gold bar). (5) No. 66, 04.3.377: a fifteenth-century European (Spanish?) badge of enameled copper gilt places a gold dragon with red wattles and eyes on a blue field. (6) No. 67, 1984.26a: an early fifteenth-century Italian badge shows a black rampant (erect) ibex or goat.

[65] An illustration and short description of MA. 960 are given in New York 1975, p. 276, fig. 278.

[66] In the language of heraldry, the leopard designates a lion passant (feet down on the ground). In his *Chronique des ducs de Normandie*, Benoît de Sainte-Maure probably refers to his patron Henry II's arms when describing those of his ancestor William the Conqueror (Brault 1972, pp. 21-22).

[67] Stones 1988, p. 70.

Abbreviations

Avril-Reynaud 1993
Avril, François and Nicole Reynaud. *Quand la peinture était dans les livres*. Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1993.

Brault 1972
Brault, Gerard J. *Early Blazon. Heraldic Terminology in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries with Special Reference to Arthurian Literature*. London, 1972.

Bruckner 1987
Bruckner, Matilda Tomaryn. "Intertextuality," in *The Legacy of Chretien de Troyes*. Amsterdam, 1987. 1, pp. 237-49.

Bruckner 1993
Bruckner, Matilda Tomaryn. "The Poetics of Continuation in Medieval French Romance: From Chrétien's *Conte du Graal* to the *Perceval* Continuations," *French Forum* 18 (May 1993), pp. 133-49.

Camille 1985a
Camille, Michael. "The Book of Signs: Writing and visual difference in Gothic manuscript illumination," *Word & Image* 1 (1985), pp. 133-48.

Camille 1985b
Camille, Michael. "Seeing and Reading: Some Visual Implications of Medieval Literacy and Illiteracy," *Art History* 8 (1985), pp. 26-49.

Camille 1991
Camille, Michael. "Gothic Signs and the Surplus: The Kiss on the Cathedral," *Yale French Studies*, Special Issue (1991), pp. 151-70.

Carruthers 1990
Carruthers, Mary. *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*. Cambridge, 1990.

Chrétien de Troyes 1959
Chrétien de Troyes. *Le Roman de Perceval ou le Conte du graal*, ed. William Roach. Paris, 1959.

Chrétien de Troyes 1967
Chretien de Troyes. *Les Romans de Chrétien de Troyes, III Le Chevalier de la Charrete*, ed. Mario Roques. Paris, 1967.

Cockerell 1907
Cockerell, S. C. *Twenty Manuscripts from the Collection of Henry Yates Thompson, Third Series*. Cambridge, 1907.

Corley 1989
Corley, Corin, tr. *Lancelot of the Lake*. Oxford, 1989.

De Boer 1921
De Boer, C. *Pianus et Ysot: Poème du XIIe siècle*. Paris, 1921.

Dover 1991
Dover, Carol. "The Split-Shield Motif in the Old French Prose Lancelot," *The Arthurian Yearbook* 1 (1991), pp. 43-61.

Dover forthcoming
Dover, Carol. "'Imagines historiarum': Text and Image in the French Prose *Lancelot*," *The Arthurian Yearbook* (forthcoming).

Frappier 1964
Frappier, Jean, ed. *La Mort le roi Artu: Roman du XIIIe siecle*. Geneva, 1964.

Gross 1979
Gross, Laila. "'La Chastelaine de Vergi' Carved in Ivory," *Viator* 10 (1979), pp. 311-322.

Keen 1984
Keen, Maurice. *Chivalry*. New Haven, 1984.

Lacy 1986
Lacy, Norris, ed. *The Arthurian Encyclopedia*. New York, 1986.

Loomis 1938
Loomis, Roger Sherman and Laura Hibbard Loomis. *Arthurian Legends in Medieval Art*. London, 1938.

London 1962
Early Fifteenth Century Miniatures exhibited at the Alpine Club Gallery, 22 May-2 June, 1962. London: W. R. Jeudwine, 1962.

Lot 1954
Lot, Ferdinand. *Etude sur le Lancelot en prose*. Paris, 1954.

Micha 1978
Micha, Alexandre, ed. *Lancelot: Roman en prose du XIIIe siècle*. 9 Vols. Geneva, 1978-83.

New York 1975
The Secular Spirit: Life and Art at the End of the Middle Ages. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1975.

Nixon 1993
Nixon, Terry. "Romance Collections and the Manuscripts of Chrétien de Troyes," in *Les Manuscrits de Chretien de Troyes: The Manuscripts of Chretien de Troyes*. Vol. 1. Amsterdam, 1993, pp. 17-25.

Pastoureau 1983
Pastoureau, Michel. *Armorial des Chevaliers de la Table Ronde*. Paris, 1983.

Pastoureau 1993
Pastoureau, Michel. "Les armoiries arthuriennes," in *Les Manuscrits de Chretien de Troyes: The Manuscripts of Chretien de Troyes*. Vol. II. Amsterdam, 1993, pp. 245-47.

Payen 1973
Payen, Jean-Charles. "Lancelot contre Tristan: La Conjuration d'un mythe subversif (Réflexions sur l'idéologie romanesque au moyen âge)," in *Mélanges de langue et de littérature médiévales offerts a Pierre LeGentil*. Paris, 1973, pp. 617-32.

Randall 1992
Randall, Lilian M.C. *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery, Vol. II: France, 1420-1540*. Baltimore, 1992.

Randall 1985
Randall, Richard H., Jr. *Masterpieces of Ivory from the Walters Art Gallery*. New York, 1985.

Randall 1993
Randall, Richard H., Jr. *The Golden Age of Ivory: Gothic Carvings in North American Collections*. New York, 1993.

Sandoz 1944
Sandoz, Edouard. "Tournevs in the Arthurian Tradition," *Speculum* 19 (1944), pp. 389-420.

Stones 1976
Stones, Alison. "Secular Manuscript Illumination in France," in *Medieval Manuscripts and Textual Criticism*. Chapel Hill, 1976, pp. 83-102.

Stones 1977
Stones, Alison. "Sacred and Profane Art: Secular and Liturgical Book-Illumination in the Thirteenth Century," in *The Epic in Medieval Society: Aesthetic and Moral Values*. Tübingen, 1977, pp. 100-12.

Stones 1988
Stones, Alison. "Aspects of Arthur's Death in Medieval Illumination," in *The Passing of Arthur: New Essays in Arthurian Tradition*. New York, 1988, pp. 52-101.

Stones 1991
Stones, Alison. "Arthurian Art since Loomis," *Arturus Rex II: Acta Conventus Lovaniensis 1987*. Leuven, 1991, pp. 21-78.

Nineteenth-Century New England's Memory of the Middle Ages

Robin Fleming

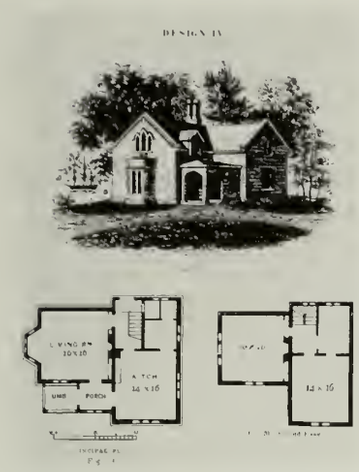


fig 31

A Modest Plan for a Gothic Cottage
Cottage Residences
Andrew Jackson Downing
New York, 1842

The Victorian cult of domesticity, which valorized the home as one of society's central, civilizing forces, found satisfying expression in its own particular memory of the middle ages. Today, the most enduring manifestation of this is found in New England's nineteenth-century domestic and ecclesiastical architecture. In the two decades on either side of the Civil War, Gothic and Romanesque revival churches came to dominate town centers from Boston to Providence to Hartford; and Gothic villas and tombs put a permanent stamp on the region's well-to-do suburbs and garden cemeteries. The appearance of the houses inhabited by New England's prosperous families, the churches in which they worshipped, and the elaborate graveyards in which they chose to be buried were more than a matter of unreflective personal taste: they were a self-conscious expression of the virtues of well-heeled New Englanders. As H.W. Beecher wrote about domestic architecture in 1859:

> A house is the shape which a man's thoughts take when he imagines how he should live. Its interior is a measure of his social and domestic nature; its exterior, of his aesthetic and artistic nature. It interprets, in material form, his ideas of home, of friendship, and of comfort.[1]

Thus, the popularity of medieval-inspired design was not simply a matter of whim or fashion, but rather a mirror of its patrons' values.

Victorian buildings, of course, took many forms, and they were inspired by many models. The most fanciful of these — Egyptian, Greek, and Venetian — were all popular mid-century styles. But the medievalizing forms of New England's leading architects — men like Andrew Jackson Downing, Alexander Jackson Davis, and H.H. Richardson — were by far the most popular. An important reason for this was medieval architecture's impeccable Christian past. A number of mid-century Americans were discomforted by the popularity of "pagan" revival styles — in particular Greek and Egyptian — believing that "heathen taste and anti-Christian usage in architecture... is, or should be, unreal and unnatural everywhere."[2] Medieval designs, on the other hand, were deemed thoroughly Christian. That the great monuments of Romanesque and Gothic architecture were the products of a Catholic millennium, and that they were hailed in modern times by England's crypto-Catholics and Ecclesiologists, seems not to have troubled the Protestant Brahmins who patronized the style. American architects of the period were able to Protestantize Gothic architecture by relying on a

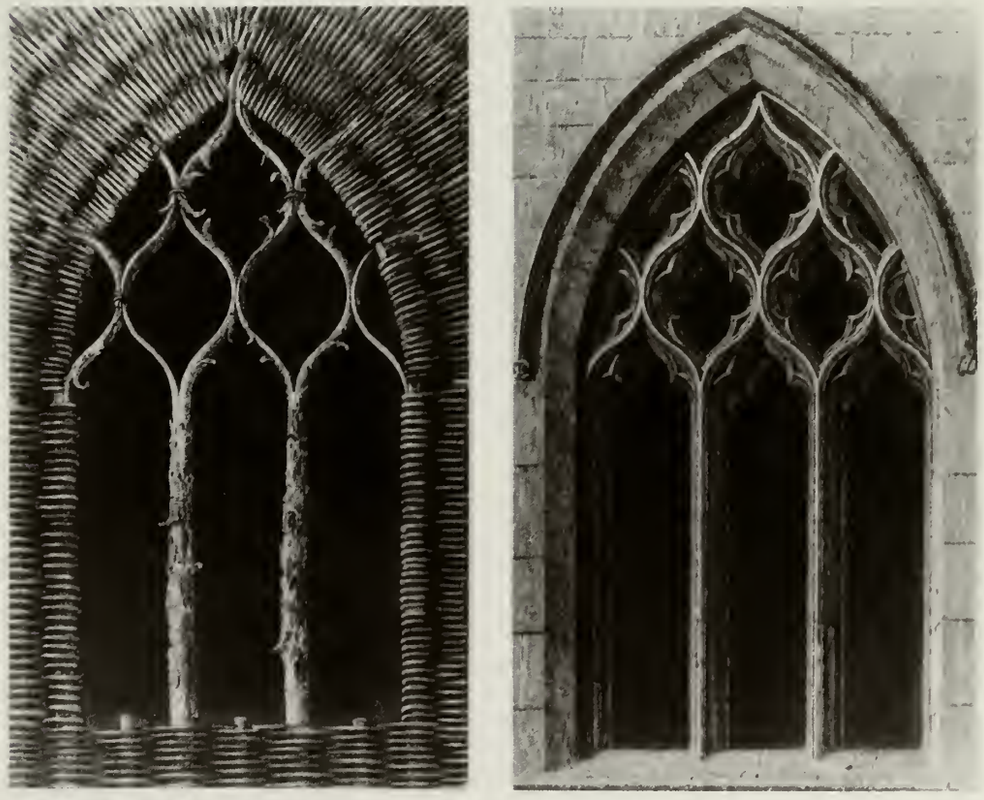


fig. 30

Illustration of a Wicker Gothic Window
Essay on the Origins and Principles of Gothic Architecture
James Hall
London, 1797

no. 70

Portrait of a Boy with a Gothic Cottage
America, c. 1850-1860
oil on canvas
Old Sturbridge Village, Sturbridge, Mass, acc. no. 20.1.31

faulty and ahistorical memory of the style's origins. Although the typology of medieval architecture had been carefully worked out in the early nineteenth century in detailed volumes such as Thomas Rickman's *An Attempt to Discriminate the Styles of English Architecture from the Conquest to the Reformation* (2nd edn, 1813), many of America's Gothic popularizers elaborated and theorized upon the faulty, if charming notions of the eighteenth-century antiquarian James Hall, who believed that the pointed arch developed from a wicker Gothic style perfected by the early Anglo-Saxons (fig. 30).[3] American writers gave weight to the belief that the pointed arches and delicate tracery of Gothic had their roots not in the twelfth century or the Church, but rather in "the imitation of groves and bowers under which the Druids performed their sacred rites."[4] According to the advocates of this theory, Gothic was an authentic, Teutonic style, gradually tamed and civilized by pious Germanic Christians of unspecified denomination. Because the ancestry of Gothic was grafted onto the seductive myth of Anglo-Saxon origins, New England's Protestant consumers of medievalizing architecture were less troubled than their English low-church contemporaries by the Catholic roots of the style.

The mythic significance of medieval architecture and its honorable Teutonic pedigree made it particularly suitable, according to Victorian architects, for captains of industry and scions of old wealth. Andrew Jackson Downing, one of the leading lights of the American Gothic movement, argued (with not entirely disinterested

no. 71

Cruet Holder or "Magic Castor"
Roswell Gleason, 1799–1871
Boston, 1857
silverplate with cut glass
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston,
Marion E. Davis Fund,
acc. no. 1984.23

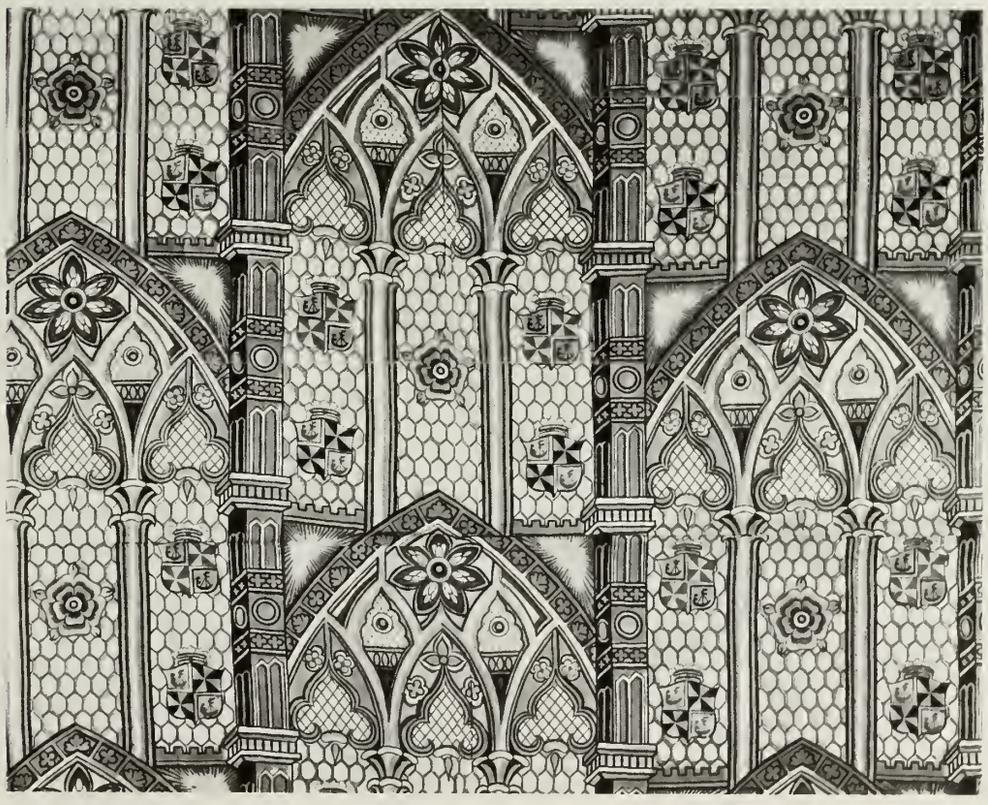
vehemence) that Gothic architecture was the only style for industrialists, those

> men of imagination... whose aspirations never leave them at rest... these are the men for picturesque villas—country-houses with high roofs, steep gables, unsymmetrical and capricious turns.[5]

Genius and imagination found flamboyant outlets in the arches and crenellations of architectural medievalism. Well-to-do New Englanders, moreover, held that the adoption of the outward forms of medieval style was more than a reflection of personality and genius; it also functioned to promote their class' values—vigor, fear of God, and chivalry. Indeed Downing, while praising the virtues of Gothic residences wrote, "a good house (and by this I mean a fitting, tasteful, and significant dwelling) is a powerful means of civilization."[6]

Striving and successful members of the urban classes who remained outside the charmed circle of the Brahmin elite, could, nonetheless, participate in the new Gothic aesthetic. With Downing's publication of *Cottage Residences* in 1842, descriptions, explanations, and architectural plans for modest Gothic dwellings (fig. 31), some as small as four rooms and as inexpensive to build as $330, were available to shopkeepers and school teachers, and to men and women who lived in small, rural towns without architects. The designs provided in Downing's *Cottage Residences* and in his later *The Architecture of Country Houses* (1850) were less opulent than the grand medieval villas he designed for the very rich, but they were also more comfortable and more practical, and some plans were even designed for households without servants, such as the cottage shown in the background of this portrait of a boy (no. 70). These pattern books brought about the popularization of a kind of inexpensive and industrially produced Gothic for the middle class and even for the working poor, and they democratized the style.

In their pattern books Downing and others not only provided floor plans and cost estimates for Gothic dwellings, but they made suggestions for relatively inexpensive Gothic furnishings as well. Indeed, they provided blueprints for an entire domestic life fashioned along medievalizing lines. For the well-to-do bourgeoisie, fantastic gadgets, such as the silverplated "Magic Castor," (no. 71) with its cruet bottles hidden behind gear-driven, Gothic panels, were available. But "Gothic" curtains were suggested for even the humblest cottage, and could be made from inexpensive Gothic-patterned chintz (no. 72). The high arbiters of medieval taste believed strongly that the modest owners of tiny Gothic residences should decorate the interiors of their homes with one eye towards design and the other towards the praiseworthy goal of self-improvement. One architect admonished "every cottager... to possess a general encyclopedia and to take a newspaper." Harper and Brothers, as a result of the rising demand of modest cottagers, published a series of inexpensive didactic books, the bindings of which were decorated with Gothic



no. 72

Textile with Gothic Window Pattern
England, c. 1840
chintz fabric
Peabody Essex Museum,
Salem, Mass.,
acc. no. 122.162

no. 74a

Gothic Covered Sugar Bowl
Boston and Sandwich Glass Co.
Boston, c. 1835–1845
glass
New Haven Colony Historical Society,
acc. no. 1970–221.

no. 77

Gothic Covered Jar
Lyman, Fenton, and Co.
Bennington, Vermont,
c. 1845–1855
pottery
Bennington Museum,
Bennington, acc. no. 66.1199

no. 79

Gothic Goblet
America, 19th century
glass
Bennington Museum,
Bennington,
acc. no. 61.1/210

no. 80

Relief Molded Molasses Jug
America, 19th century
pottery
Bennington Museum,
Bennington, acc. no. 57.56

no. 81

Relief Molded Molasses Jug
Charles Meigh
Hanley, England, 19th century
stoneware and pewter
Peabody Essex Museum,
Salem, Mass.,
acc. no. 105.458

no. 73

Gothic Bottle
America, c. 1850–1860
lime soda glass
Peabody Essex Museum,
Salem, Mass., acc. no. 103.095

designs.[7] So, although the Gothic revival had its origins in America among New England's wealthiest families, it rapidly took on a common currency among America's middle classes. Indeed, one of the hallmarks of nineteenth century medieval aesthetic in New England was its widespread adoption by people of all social classes. As a style it is an early indication of nineteenth century America's growing mass and consumer cultures.

The transformation of a taste for the medieval among the wealthy and educated few into a design with mass appeal, led to the large scale production of medieval-style objects by the factories of an industrializing America. From the 1840s onward, medieval-inspired objects were increasingly produced and consumed by rich and poor alike. Absurdly commonplace and modern objects, such as ketchup bottles (no. 73), sugar bowls (nos. 74a-d) and creamers (no. 75), cast-iron stoves (no. 76), and water jars (no. 77) were produced in Gothic form and were brought into the households of all social classes. This homely application of medieval forms led to a kind of cozy conceptualization of the medieval past, and resulted in the production of pictures of warmly domestic medieval scenes, such as the women weavers of Dante Gabriel Rossetti's *Before the Battle* (fig. 32), which hung in the home of Harvard's Charles Eliot Norton, or John Tenniel's whimsical sketch of King Arthur and Queen Guenevere cooking supper (no. 78). Such domestications and reproductions led to a highly eccentric and anachronistic everyday memory of the medieval past; one in which the spirit of the age was more important than any empirical truth about it.[8] This is clearly seen in the charmingly anachronistic household products churned out in the Gothic style for large markets in the 1840s, '50s, and '60s. Pressed glass and molded ceramics were the sites of wild historical infelicities. The Gothic arches on pressed glass goblets, like that now in the Bennington Museum (no. 79), were sometimes filled with classically draped figures. Gothic mo-

no. 76

Gothic Cast Iron Stove
Jagger, Treadwell, and Perry
New York, 1846
cast iron
Old Sturbridge Village,
Sturbridge, Mass.,
photo by Thomas Neill,
acc. no. 2.77.68

fig. 33

Gothic Stove
Shepard and Company,
c. 1842-1848
cast iron
Philadelphia Museum of
Art, acc. no. 07-181

lasses jugs were enlivened with acanthus leaves and classical heads (no. 80) or figures of the Apostles (no. 81), and cast iron stoves (fig. 83), laced with a web of Gothic window-paning, were decorated with cast impressions of Jacques Louis David's *Napoleon on Mont Saint-Bernard*. In *The Stones of Venice* (1851-53), John Ruskin had praised Gothic architecture because of "the magnificent science of its structure, and the sacredness of its expression." A similar marriage of modern industrial science and spirituality, the twinned obsessions of mid-century America, might well have been applied to the anthracite coal-burning stoves decorated with medieval tracery or to the Gothic pickle bottles used by modern housewives to preserve and store their family's food.

The domestic application of medieval styles in New England was always dogged by anachronism, and in both houses and in household objects nineteenth-century sentiments were often seen lurking beneath a Gothic façade. Solid Federal houses overlooking New Haven harbor, for example, were stripped in the 1850s of their classical porticoes, and newly decorated with Gothic verandas.[9] And in Kennebunkport, Maine, a brick Federalist mansion (fig. 34), originally built around 1800, was encased in the middle of the century with a lacy wooden overlay of Gothic arches and trefoils. In both New Haven and in Kennebunkport, the houses were transformed when they were Gothicized, but they were scarcely disguised. The appearance of new and fashionable garden cemeteries throughout New England's suburbs were also marked by the fanciful application of Gothic to tombs, headstones, and family plots. Vast numbers of grave markers in Cambridge's Mount Auburn cemetery (founded in 1831) are Gothic in style, and its first great mortuary chapel, built by Jacob Bigelow (nos. 82 and 83a-c), was an exotic, Turkish-inspired Gothic (built within sight of the cemetery's sphinx Civil War monument), which the architect himself described as "a Westminster Abbey, Pantheon, or Valhalla."[10]

fig. 32

Before the Battle
Dante Gabriel Rossetti
England, 1858
watercolor on paper
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston,
Special Picture Fund,
acc. no. 12.1164

no. 78

King Arthur and Queen Guenevere Cooking
Sir John Tenniel, 1820-1914
England, 19th century
graphite on paper
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston,
John H. and E. A. Payne Fund,
acc. no. 1955.1471

fig. 34

Hedges Cottage, Home of a Confirmed Gothic Amateur, Country Commercial Home
New Yorker
Hunter, Frederick L. Hamilton
R. & C. McArdle and
D.B. McArdle
New York, 1978

The eclecticism rising out of this haphazard mix of styles resulted in a not very cerebral application of past forms on to present buildings and objects. The heated academic debates in England in the mid-nineteenth century over the necessity of historically correct, almost archaeological adaptations of Gothic, championed by A. Welby Pugin (England's greatest Gothic revival architect), were missing in New England. Pugin's satirical and critical depiction of a modern day cemetery, with its sphinxes, classical porticoes, and Gothic arches shown here (fig. 35), is surprisingly close to Mount Auburn cemetery's straight-faced adaptation of an eclectic Gothic style. This embrace of historically inaccurate medieval forms was not only true for mourning Brahmins and pattern book enthusiasts, but for professional architects as well. *Circa* 1845 the notable architect James H. Dakin designed a glorious church (no. 84)—a staid, stolid thirteenth-century building from the tower down, and a lacy, onion-domed wonder at the top. Three decades later Boston's most popular architect, H.H. Richardson, built Trinity Church in Copley Square. On the outside this church is a streaky-bacon Romanesque, pierced by a Gothic rose, and topped with a Salamancan tower; on the inside it is adorned with the Gothic, Renaissance, and Japanese inspired murals of John LaFarge. Richardson, about the time he was designing this extraordinary building, sat for a series of formal portraits (fig. 36) for the photographer George Collins Cox. In them, he is dressed as a medieval monk, apparently envisioning himself and his wildly anachronistic designs as true heirs of the medieval past.

Nineteenth-century New England's approaches to medieval history mirrored exactly the sensibilities it displayed in Gothic revival architecture. The medieval history New Englanders read, wrote, and taught their children was as eclectic and anachronistic as any Bigelow building, and like Downing's Gothic cottages, it was freighted with a heavy moral content. This is clearly seen in the medieval history taught to American children during this period. The purpose of its study, according to textbook authors, was to inculcate morality and impart practical knowledge, and not to overheat the intellect. The preface to one 1860s history reader explains that

> we have, indeed, been desirous to cultivate the memory, the intellect, and the taste. But much more anxious have we been to sow the seeds of virtue by showing the good in such amicable lights that the youthful heart shall kindle into desires of imitation.[11]

fig. 35

Drawing of a Nineteenth Century Cemetery Gateway
A. Welby Pugin
London, 1842

Medieval figures' own histories and accomplishments in these books were reworked so that the stories of their lives could serve as *exempla* for children. In Miss Bunbury's *Sketches of the Life of Alfred the Great*, published mid-century by The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, each incident of the king's life was interpreted as an act of modern-day charity, so that Alfred might stand as "a model for imitation."[12] Miss Bunbury's comments on Alfred's defeat of the Viking Guthrum, for example, were reserved for the latter's forced conversion to Christianity: "the promotion of Christian and useful knowledge amongst the ignorant and degraded is the noblest occupation in which we can engage."[13] The author was also careful to leave out the scandalous story of Alfred's father's second marriage. Similar lessons about proper conduct and belief could be drawn in the 1840s by children who played the history board games produced in Salem, Massachusetts, by W. and S.B. Ives. In *Mohamet and Saladin, or the Battle for Palestine* (no. 85), the game's instructions informed readers that the child who played the Christians was represented by a white marker and that the player who took on the role of the Muslims was represented by a black marker, "as an emblem of ignorance and as denoting the gloom of error and superstition." And for those who thought of playing *Pope and Pagan or the Siege of the Stronghold of Satan* (no. 86), the company's advertisement stated that "this simple amusement exhibits a band of devoted missionaries attacking the strong-hold of Satans defended by the papal and pagan Antichrist." Clearly, the Protestant, middle-class virtues of New England's Anglo-Saxon inhabitants were taught through the lessons of history.

Adults were also consumers of medieval history, and two Bostonians — Henry Adams and Eben Horsford — wrote extensively on the subject. The two men had much in common. Both were members of old New England families, both were Harvard professors for a time, and both wrote erudite histories of the Middle Ages which claimed scientific methodology, but which were in reality as romantic as any Gothic novel. The two men, moreover, looted the medieval past for analogies to bolster their own beliefs about the modern political order, and both projected a perfect version of the modern world onto the memory of the medieval past.

By the time Adams and Horsford were writing their medieval histories, a generation of artists and intellectuals had been building a spurious and sentimental picture of medieval society. The leading English architect of Gothic

no. 84

Architectural Drawing of a Church
James H. Dakin
America, 19th century
ink on paper
New Orleans Public Library, New Orleans

no. 82

Stereoview Photograph of Bigelow's Chapel
America, 19th century
silver gelatin print
Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, Boston, Mass., acc. no. 146663-B

fig. 36

Portrait of H. H. Richardson
George Collins Cox, c. 1875
Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, Boston, Mass.

revival buildings, for example, A. Welby Pugin, published the wildly popular *Contrasts; or a Parallel between the Noble Edifices of the Middle Ages and the Corresponding Buildings of the Present Day, Showing the Present Decay of Taste.*[14] The book, in particular its second edition (1841), presented a powerful critique of modern society through a series of paired illustrations, one medieval and the other modern. Pugin's twinned pictures of a medieval almshouse and a modern poorhouse (fig. 37) emphasized the horrors of modern life while they lionized the morality, cleanliness, and spirituality of the medieval past. Such sharp, historically based social critiques were extremely influential in America, and both Adams and Horsford clearly saw strong parallels between the Middle Ages and an idealized pre-industrial America. Like many historians of the period, moreover, both Adams and Horsford subscribed to the notion that race was one of the driving forces of history, and that the "Aryan race," in particular its "Teutonic" branch, was superior to all others. The popularity of this dogma owed much to the success of European imperialism and colonization during the nineteenth century, and something to the application of Darwin's theories on the evolution of species to human society. But ironically, much of this doctrine's appeal lay in the fact that New England's ruling elite, which was white, Anglo-Saxon, and Protestant, was beginning to lose its grip on America in the face of mass immigration and industrialization. More and more, privileged members of New England's ruling class looked for historic justifications for their families' and their classes' continued and special rights and wealth.[15]

Henry Adams's early work in medieval history, published in 1876, centered on the legal institutions of the Anglo-Saxons, in particular the hundred and its court.[16] For Adams, the hundred was "among the first, if not the first, political creation of man." This institution was transported by the Saxons, "the purest of Germanic stock," to England. This transplanted institution was the popular assembly of freemen, in whose hands rested political administration and law. According to Adams, these hundreds flourished in England before the Norman Conquest because of the innate conservatism of the Anglo-Saxon soul. In France the hundred had been suppressed because Frankish kings, innovative to a man, spread their power through conquest and consolidation. These conquests gave Frankish kings enormous authority, but destroyed the native democratic institutions of the hundred in the process. English monarchs, however, did not extend their power through conquest, but rather through confederation. The result was that Anglo-Saxon England developed a federal system. Primitive though it was, this Anglo-Saxon federation was nonetheless the ancestor of the American system of government advocated and implemented by Adams's own two presidential ancestors. Adams's pious valorization of the achievements of his family, and his projecting of modern political institutions into the distant past mimics, in many ways, the application of the medieval in nineteenth-century art and architecture. The language, moreover, used by Adams to describe the ancient workings of Teutonic institutions, shows the same mix of science, romanticism, and morality exhibited in other areas of nineteenth-century medievalism. His writings were peppered with Darwinian terms (like "growth," "development," "life"), with the mechanical idiom of the Industrial Age ("mechanism," "process"), and with the occult vocabulary of nineteenth-century Anglicanism ("spirit," "consciousness").[17] In spirit, Adams's *Essays in Anglo-Saxon Law* (1876) are a replication, in text form, of the Gothic villa or the medieval-style mortuary monument.

no. 83a-c

Harry Germain with Image of Bishop's Chapel
William F. Stone
[illegible]
[illegible]
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
Gift of [illegible] Wunsch
[illegible]
[illegible]

fig 37

Two Poorhouses, one Medieval and the other Modern Contrasts
A. Welby Pugin
London, 1842

Towards the end of his life, Adams wrote *Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres*. This work was a product of Adams's growing sense of bitter estrangement with an industrialized and immigrant-ridden America. His earlier work on Anglo-Saxon history, although it flirted with the myths of Teutonic prowess, had never indulged in notions of Aryan racial superiority. But in his later years, Adams descended into a loud anti-semitism. He blamed the Jews for everything—America's squalid industrialism, its descent into materialism, and his own family's loss of power. In his autobiography he railed that even "a furtive Yacoob or Ysaac still reeking of the Ghetto, snarling a weird Yiddish ... had a freer hand than [me]—American of Americans."[18] Finance and materialism had not yet reared their ugly heads in Mont-Saint-Michel's world of Gothic and Romanesque, and the industrialized democracy of the 1880s and '90s was nowhere in evidence. *Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres* is an invective against the present, and is about a properly ordered world in which those in power are aristocrats rather than *nouveau riche* immigrants.

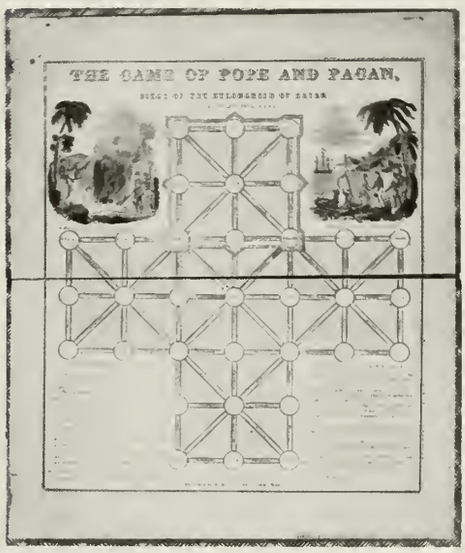
Eben Horsford's writings on medieval history, like Henry Adams's, were bound up with Brahmin identity and mass immigration. Horsford was New England's leading proponent of the notion that Leif Ericsson founded and settled Cambridge, Massachusetts. With the translation and publication of luxury editions of the sagas (no. 87), Nordic history found a growing audience in New England, and a number of Americans before Horsford had written on Viking New England. In 1840, for example, Ashahel Davis produced a small pamphlet on the Viking's discovery of New England. As he wrote of medieval Iceland:

> That obscure island is remarkable for the attention paid to learning.... The Icelanders, living in a remote isle far off from privileges that milder climates present, were naturally led to look for happiness in pursuit of knowledge.... Ah, yes, fondness for books will create an artificial summer in the depths of the most gloomy season. The sunny Italy may boast of the beauteous tints that flush her skies; but after all, her effeminate inhabitants may be destitute of that happiness enjoyed by those who live where winter reigns uncontrolled most of the year.[19]

With this view of Italians, it is little wonder that Davis entitled his tract, *A Lecture on the Discovery of America by the Northmen Five Hundred Years before Columbus*. Other amateur scholars depended less on theories of racial manifest destiny, and more on the pseudo-scientific methods of the latest history. R.G. Hatfield, writing in the 1870s,

no. 85

Mohamet and Saladin or the Battle for Palestine Board Game
W. and S.B. Ives Co.
Salem, 1846
cardboard and paper
Peabody Essex Museum,
Salem, Mass., acc. no. 131.803



no. 86

Pope and Pagan or the Siege of the Stronghold of Satan Board Game
W. and S.B. Ives Co.
Salem, 1844
cardboard and paper
Peabody Essex Museum,
Salem, Mass., acc. no. 4216.2

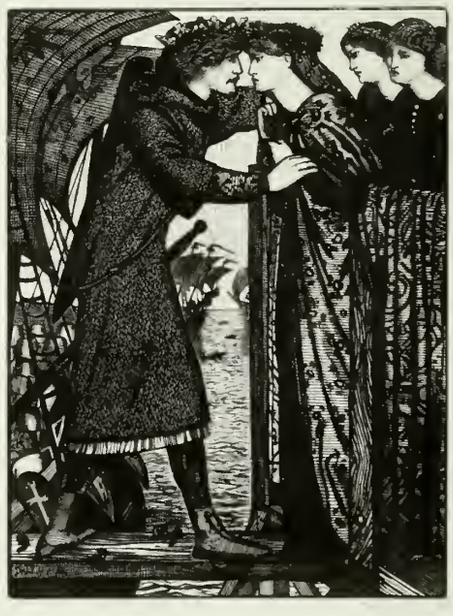
examined the remains of a colonial windmill in Newport. He analyzed its structure and studied other artifacts (including the shapes of skulls excavated around New England), to prove that the mill was in reality a Norwegian baptistery.[20]

But the greatest popularizer of New England's Viking myth was the millionaire chemist Eben Horsford. Horsford, like so many important New England thinkers, was a man of science. He was one of the first Americans trained in chemistry. And like so many influential men of his day, he was a successful industrialist, with a large, private fortune founded on baking powder. Like many members of his class, Horsford was interested in liberal, social, and scientific experiment. During the Civil War, for example, he developed Union rations (and urged, without success, the adoption of the corn tortilla as the basis of the army's diet). His company, the Rumford Chemical Works, was one of the first in America with a profit-sharing plan, and he was deeply committed to women's education. Indeed Horsford's largess, to a large extent, guaranteed the newly founded Wellesley College's success. Yet in spite of his liberality and commitment to worthy causes, Horsford, like Adams, was deeply invested in the race-driven theories of Aryan superiority.

In the face of the four hundredth centennial of the Columbian discovery, Horsford was determined to prove that North America had been discovered not by an Italian Catholic, but rather by Leif Ericsson, a man with an impeccable Aryan pedigree. Horsford, through a series of excavations, placename studies, linguistic analyses of native languages, and through an optimistic reading of the sagas, "discovered," along the banks of the Charles River, the remains of Norumbega, a Viking town with a population of some ten thousand.[21] A number of Native American artifacts, dug up in Horsford's excavations, are still housed in Harvard's Peabody Museum. Some are identified, in a copperplate Victorian hand, as "Viking" and others as *skræling*—the saga term for Inuit (nos. 88–90). Horsford and his daughter, Miss Cornelia, over the course of the 1880s and '90s wrote a series of books on the Vikings in Boston, and Horsford massively publicized his discoveries by building commemorative towers, commissioning statues, like the one that still stands on Commonwealth Avenue (fig. 38), and by giving Viking names to various buildings at Wellesley College. At the core of Horsford's argument, and at the heart of his desire to place the Vikings in New England, was his interest in linking the history of his home, his class, and his nation to the great Germanic past. He did this in his work by showing an absolute continuity between early

fig. 38

Photo of the Statue of Leif Ericson on Commonwealth Avenue
N.I. Stebbins, c. 1920
Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities,
Boston, Mass.



no. 87

King Sigurd the Crusader
Edward Burne-Jones, 1833–1898
England, 1862
wood engraving on paper
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston,
J.H. and E.A. Payne Fund,
acc. no. 1955.1471

nos. 88–90

"Skraeling Implements"
Nineteenth-Century Identification Card
collected in Hampton, New Hampshire
19th century
stone
Peabody Museum, Harvard University,
Cambridge, Mass.; acc. no. 45-16-10-27657 and 45-16-10-27658

Scandinavians and present day Americans. About the Vikings in general he wrote:

> It seems increasingly likely that the homeland of the Aryans is not on the slopes of the Hindookush, but in S.E. Scandinavia, which makes the Northmen the progenitors of the Greeks, the Romans, and with the exception of one or two races, of all the nations of modern Europe; when further research establishes this to be fact, it will make the Vikings the greatest race in the history of mankind.

And about Leif in particular Horsford stated:

> His ancestry was of the early pilgrims or Puritans who, to escape oppression, emigrated 50,000 of them in sixty years from Norway to Iceland, just as the early Pilgrims came to Plymouth. They were not of the Vikings—the class that conducted predatory excursions over the then known seas.... They established and maintained a republican form of government, which exists to this day.[22]

Horsford and others were able, through Leif Ericsson's supposed settlement of New England, to take back the discovery of America from a Catholic, Mediterranean people, and appropriate it for their own imagined ancestors. Indeed, in 1892, in the face of the Columbian Exposition, organized to celebrate Columbus's discovery, private funds were successfully raised, and a life-sized, working model of the Gokstad ship (no. 91) was built, and then "sailed" (in actual fact, it had to be towed) to Chicago, as a kind of protest against Columbus's claims.

At one public, Horsford-sponsored celebration of Norumbega, an extraordinary historical poem, written by the deservedly obscure poet H.E. Clement, was read to a crowd of Viking enthusiasts:

Sing we, then, a rugged rune,
In Emerson's and Whittier's tune, —
Verse for honest-spoken folk,
Compact of stuff as egg of yolk,
Simple, blunt, but yet not coarse;
Native, and still something Norse,
As is meet for kindred race,
Dwelling in the very place
Where the Norsemen moored their ships
And left their names on savage lips.
Italian Colon Iceland sought,
And tales the bardic sagas taught
Of ancient trips to Western seas
Were treasured by the Genoese.
Americus's traitorous tale
Too long is suffered to prevail:
Christopher was not alone
Victim for a time outshine,
Where that crafty story spread
Other voyages now are read,
Other learning now avails,
With North and South in balanced scales.
Not for all wear are silk and satin;
Not all was writ in Greek and Latin ...
Barbarous birth our language owns,
Gothic pith is in our bones;
Heart of heart in kinship warms,
With levelling Vandals' peopling swarms,
Sturdiest stocks of old Caucasian,—
Liberty, self-rule, their passion,
Ever the same from earliest hour
To Alfred, King, and our own Mayflower.
From folk-mote to the Commonwealth
Is one straight march, naught won by stealth,
But bold in name of law and right,
Of people's need and people's might.
Kingcraft nor priestcraft frames decree
For them who dare the unpassed Sea.[23]

This poem, like the history that inspired it, bears little resemblance to the medieval past. But it demonstrates the Victorian habit of remembering the Middle Ages as an idealized version of the present.

The kind of Anglo-Saxon fantasies encouraged by the creation of a history driven by the myths of race, fueled a number of unsavory anti-modern movements in the late nineteenth century. American Brahmin intellectuals of the period—men like Edward Bemis and Herbert Baxter Adams of Johns Hopkins, Francis Amasa Walker of M.I.T., and Richard Mayo Smith of Columbia took medieval historians' theories of Teutonic democracy and fashioned them into a nasty political and social ideology of racial superiority, and they used notions about the medieval past to prop up the racist and elitist ideology of America's Anglo-Saxon saving remnant.[24] A similar application of medievalism was used in less august circles to bolster a developing anti-modern sentiment. Some late nineteenth-century reactionaries, for example, lamented the loss of the medieval institution of the *posse comitatus*, and use it as a historical justification for vigilante groups. One 1889 editorial stated that:

> a Saxon hue and cry, hailing a fugitive criminal before the hundred for punishment, would be a picturesque historical spectacle, while the Indiana or Mississippi lynching mob is a subject for reprobation only. Yet the latter may be only a reversion to an ancestral type, caused by the practical breakdown of the more civilized and artificial type which has succeeded it.[25]

During the 1880s and '90s dozens of Protestant-militia groups, whose purpose was to foster "hero-worship" and "adult-leadership," decorated themselves with the trappings of the Middle Ages. The Church Temperance League, for instance, organized The Young Crusaders for boys ages eight to sixteen, and the Knights of Temperance was for young men sixteen to twenty-one. The Knights of King Arthur, which was a Christian organization for college men, promoted its members to "esquires" when they had read 8,000 pages of heroic novels.[26] Thus, in the 1870s, '80s, and '90s a particular memory of the Middle Ages was invoked again and again by historians, politicians, and journalists as a protest against an American society that had less and less to do with an English, Protestant, and agrarian past.

The architecture, poetry, and historical writing of nineteenth-century New Englanders suggests that the medieval past was a transparent medium that took on the color of any ideology, taste or budget. It provided an aesthetic and a morally imbued style, both for wealthy patrons of civic architecture and for modest members of the middle classes. Gothic-inspired designs could decorate luxury books or be stamped into the cheapest lime soda-glass. The Middle Ages could spark the imaginations of liberal benefactors like Horsford, or put fire in the bellies of militant Christian youth groups. Indeed, New England's memory of the Middle Ages was so flexible that the truth about the past was transformed into a mirror, reflecting back the hopes, values, and fears of all who remembered it.

no. 91

Photo of the Replica Viking Ship Displayed at the Columbian Exposition Chicago 1893
Charles Dudly Arnold
America, 1893
platinum print
Columbia University, New York City, Division of Drawings and Archives, Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library, C.D. Arnold Photographs, acc no. 39

Notes

[1] Beecher 1859, pp. 285-295. See also Williams 1982.

[2] Strong 1952, 1, 229.

[3] Rickman 1813; Hall 1797, plate xi.

[4] Lovejoy 1948, p. 155. See also Aldrich 1994.

[5] Quoted in Howe 1976, p. 1015. Downing was the author of the enormously popular and influential *Cottage Residences*, which was first published in 1842, and was subsequently printed nine times, and sold 16,000 copies. In this and in other writings, Downing presented not only designs for Gothic houses, but a systematic and highly articulate philosophy of Gothic-revival architecture.

[6] Downing 1850, preface.

[7] Mayhew and Myers 1980, p. 173. See also Cooper 1987; Farnham 1985; Howe 1976; Howe and Warren 1979.

[8] For notions of Victorian eclectism see Bright 1984.

[9] Sadler 1976, pp. 21-22.

[10] O'Gorman 1989, pp. 34-35. See also Linden-Ward 1989.

[11] Emma Willard, quoted in Elson 1964, p. 226

[12] Bunbury n.d., p. 45.

[13] Bunbury n.d., p. 33.

[14] Pugin 1841; Pugin 1843.

[15] For the writing of history in the Victorian period see Culler 1985; Jann 1985; Levine 1986; Novick 1988.

[16] The work of Adams and his doctoral students on Anglo-Saxon England are found in Adams, 1876. See also Fleming 1995.

[17] For the development of Victorian historical vocabulary, see Burrow 1981, pp. 146-7.

[18] Adams 1983, p. 938.

[19] Davis 1840, p. 22.

[20] Hatfield 1879.

[21] For Horsford's excavations, see Williams 1991.

[22] Horsford 1899; Horsford 1888; Horsford 1892; Horsford 1889.

[23] Exercises n.d.,

[24] Solomon 1956, pp. 68-81; Novick 1988, pp. 80-85.

[25] Lears 1981, p. 111.

[26] Lears 1981, p. 109.

Abbreviations

Adams 1876
Adams, Henry. *Essays in Anglo-Saxon Law*. Boston, 1876.

Adams 1983
Adams, Henry. *Novels, Mont-Saint-Michel, The Education*. New York, 1983.

Aldrich 1994
Aldrich, Megan. *Gothic Revival*. London, 1994.

Baer 1992
Baer, Marc, "The Memory of the Middle Ages: From History of Culture to Cultural History," in *Medievalism in England*, ed. Leslie J. Workman. Cambridge, 1992.

Beecher 1859
Beecher, H.W. "Building a House." *Star Papers*. New York, 1859.

Bowler 1989
Bowler, Peter, Jr. *The Invention of Progress: The Victorians and the Past*. Oxford, 1989.

Bright 1984
Bright, Michael. *Cities Built to Music: Aesthetic Theories of the Victorian Gothic Revival*. Columbus, 1984.

Bunbury n.d.
Bunbury, Miss. *Sketches of the Life of Alfred the Great*. London, n.d.

Burrow 1981
Burrow, J.W. *A Liberal Descent: Victorian Historians and the English Past*. Cambridge, 1981.

Chandler 1970
Chandler, Alice. *A Dream of Order: The Medieval Ideal in Nineteenth-Century English Literature*. Lincoln, 1970.

Cooper 1987
Cooper, Jeremy. *Victorian and Edwardian Furniture and Interiors: From Gothic Revival to Art Nouveau*. London, 1987.

Culler 1985
Culler, Dwight A. *The Victorian Mirror of History*. New Haven, 1985.

Curl 1990
Curl, James Stevens. *Victorian Architecture*. London, 1990.

Davis 1840
Davis, Ashahel. *A Lecture on the Discovery of America by the Northmen Five Hundred Years before Columbus*. Boston, 1840.

Downing 1850
Downing, Andrew Jackson. *The Architecture of Country Houses*. New York, 1850.

Downing 1842
Downing, Andrew Jackson. *Cottage Residences*. New York, 1842.

Elson 1964
Elson, Ruth Miller. *Guardians of Tradition. American Schoolbooks of the Nineteenth Century*. Lincoln, 1964.

Exercises n.d.
Exercises at the Town Hall in Watertown. n.d.

Farnham 1985
Farnham, Anne. "Household Textile in the Essex Institute, Salem, Mass." *Antiques* 100, 1985.

Fleming 1995
Fleming, Robin. "Henry Adams and the Anglo-Saxons," in *The Preservation of Anglo-Saxon Culture*, ed. Paul Szarmach (forthcoming).

Gebhard 1977
Gebhard, David and Deborah Nevins. *Two Hundred Years of American Architectural Drawing: Whitney Library of Design*. New York, 1977.

Hall 1799
Hall, John. *Essay on the Origins and Principles of Gothic Architecture*. London, 1797.

Hatfield 1879
Hatfield, R.G. *The Old Mill at Newport*. Newport, 1879.

Horsford 1899
Horsford, Cornelia. *Vineland and its Ruins*. Boston, 1899.

Horsford 1888
Horsford, Eben Norton. *Discovery of America by Northmen: Address at the Unveiling of the Statue of Leif Eriksen... 1887*. Boston, 1888.

Horsford 1892
Horsford, Eben Norton. *The Landfall of Leif Ericson, a.d. 1000, and the Site of his Houses in Vineland*. Boston, 1892.

Horsford 1889
Horsford, Eben Norton. *The Problems of the Northmen*. Boston, 1889.

Horsman 1981
Horsman, Reginald. *Race and Manifest Destiny: The Origins of American Racial Anglo-Saxonism*. Cambridge, Mass, 1981.

Howe 1976
Howe, Katherine Susman. "The Gothic Revival Style in America, 1830-70." *Antiques* 109, 1976.

Howe and Warren 1979
Howe, Katherine Susman and David B. Warren. *The Gothic Revival Style in America 1830-1870: An Exhibition of Decorative Arts, Museum of Fine Arts, Houston*. Houston, 1979.

Jann 1985
Jann, Rosemary. *The Art and Science of Victorian History*. Columbus, 1985.

Lears 1981
Lears, T.J. Jackson. *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture 1880-1920.* New York, 1981.

Levine 1986
Levine, Philippa. *The Amateur and the Professional: Antiquarians, Historians, and Archaeologists in Victorian England, 1838-1886.* Cambridge, 1986.

Linden-Ward 1989
Linden-Ward, Blanche. *Landscapes of Memory and Boston's Mount Auburn Cemetery.* Columbus, 1989.

Lovejoy 1948
Lovejoy, Arthur O. "The First Gothic Revolution and the Return to Nature," in *Essays in the History of Ideas.* Baltimore, 1948.

Mayhew and Myers 1980
Mayhew, Edgar de N. and Minor Myers Jr. *A Documentary History of American Interiors from the Colonial Era to 1915.* New York, 1980.

Novick 1988
Novick, Peter. *That Noble Dream: The "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical Profession.* Cambridge, 1988.

O'Gorman 1989
O'Gorman, James F. *On the Boards: Drawings of Nineteenth-Century Boston Architects.* Philadelphia, 1989.

Pugin 1843
Pugin, A. Welby. *An Apology for the Revival of Christian Architecture in England.* London, 1843.

Pugin 1841
Pugin, A. Welby. *Contrasts: or a Parallel between the Noble Edifices of the Middle Ages and the Corresponding Buildings of the Present Day, Showing the Present Decay of Taste.* 2nd edn. London, 1841.

Rickman 1789
Rickman, Thomas. *An Attempt to Discriminate the Styles of English Architecture from the Conquest to the Reformation.* 2nd edn. London, 1813.

Ruskin 1989
Ruskin, John. *The Stones of Venice,* ed. Jan Morris. London, 1989.

Sadler 1976
Sadler, Julius Trousdale. "A Gothic Sampling." *Nineteenth Century* 2, 1976.

Solomon 1956
Solomon, Barbara Miller. *Ancestors and Immigrants: A Changing New England Tradition.* Cambridge, Mass, 1956.

Strong 1988
Strong, George Templeton. *The Diary of George Templeton Strong,* ed. Allan Nevins and Milton Halsey Thomas. Seattle, 1988.

Williams 1982
Williams, Peter. "Varieties of American Medievalism," in *Studies in Medievalism.* Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1982.

Williams 1991
Williams, Stephen. *Fantastic Archaeology: The Wild Side of North American Prehistory.* Philadelphia, 1991.

The Film "Sorceress": A Twentieth-century Re-creation of a Medieval Memory

Pamela Berger

The Medieval Memory

Some essays in this catalogue treat memory as a collective cultural remembering. Some discuss memories passed down by a literate class that had access to earlier texts and pictures, and that resurrected images and ideas from an earlier historical period. This essay uses the term memory to mean the faculty by which an individual remembers. Here I deal with a story remembered by the individuals of one generation and passed from generation to generation to remain alive only through the oral tradition, until it was set down in written form in the thirteenth century. Inextricably linked to the memory was a rite. The transmission of that rite likewise was oral, this time primarily from mother to daughter.

Rarely do texts or visual documents from the middle ages reveal what unlettered people remembered of their personal experiences or familial practices. Since peasants were unable to set down their memories in written form, a modern scholar's access to their recollections is usually dependent on folkloric accounts that were recorded hundreds of centuries after the occurrence of the events, unless those events were of unique importance to the literate classes. One such event, important to a literate churchman, occurred in the Dombes region of France, about twenty-five miles northeast of Lyon. The text containing this collective memory was published by Jean-Claude Schmitt in 1979.[1] The peasants from the Dombes region received and passed down the story of a noble family's baby, whom a sainted figure named Guinefort saved from certain death by snakebite. The protective powers of that saint were subsequently invoked by mothers of sick infants.

The peasants remembered Guinefort's worthy deed and, when their infants fell ill, sought his aid in a series of ritualized acts. In the mid-thirteenth century, a Dominican friar named Etienne de Bourbon was traveling in the region. Through the confessional and a subsequent inquiry, the friar extracted information about the saint, what the peasants remembered of his origins and the ritual that was associated with his memory. Etienne learned that Guinefort was evoked in a rite associated with a woman called a *vetula*. She would lead a mother with a sick baby to the saint's burial ground, and together they would perform certain acts, which culminated in laying the baby on straw with two candles on either side of its head. Then the mother and the *vetula* would withdraw until the candles had burned down. Sometimes, when they withdrew, a wolf would threaten the child. When the mother and the *vetula* returned, the mother would take up the child and dip it nine times in a river. As demonic and dangerous as Etienne deemed this practice, it became even more horrendous to him, as a man of God, when he learned that Guinefort, the saintly figure, was not a man or a woman, but a greyhound dog.[2]

Etienne wrote of what he learned in his treatise *Tractatus de Diversis Materiis Praedicabilibus*.[3] The text describes the ritual dedicated to Guinefort, and what the peasants remembered about his martyrdom. When Etienne held his inquiry, the peasants told him that long ago a certain Count de Villars and his lady had a baby boy. One day when the parents were out of the house, a serpent came into the room in which the cradle stood. Their greyhound, Guinefort, who was guarding the baby, attacked and killed the serpent and threw it into a corner. The dog's mouth was torn and the cradle was overturned. When the count and his wife came back and saw the bloodied dog beside the overturned cradle, they assumed that Guinefort had eaten the child, and at once the father slew the animal. Only after Guinefort was dead did the father see the baby sleeping safely and the pieces of the serpent strewn about the room. Realizing that he had unjustly killed the dog who had saved his child, the father placed a large stone on the animal's grave and planted a tree next to it *in memoriam*.

Etienne's text goes on to pass down a conclusion to and an interpretation of the tale as it was formulated and enshrined in the memories of the peasants: because of the injustice of the count's deed, his castle was destroyed and his estate became a wasteland. The peasants, however, knowing how the innocent Guinefort had been killed, visited the place, honored the dog as a martyr, and prayed to him when they were sick.

Etienne viewed the peasants' actions and attitudes as seductions of the devil. He especially castigated the mothers who sought the help of the "dog saint." According to his text, Etienne responded to what he had learned by calling the people together, going to the burial place of the dog, and preaching against the villainies that he had heard described. He had the dog's bones dug up and the sacred wood cut down. He persuaded the secular authorities to confiscate the property of anyone who went to the site to engage in those nefarious activities.

This rare glimpse into medieval memory and ritual forms the core of the film "Sorceress."[4] Though I structured the story and script around the essence of Etienne's account, I had to take many liberties as I developed the characters, their motivations, the plot line, and the ultimate resolution of the conflicts. Thus, though the film takes off from a thirteenth-century Latin text, it is a distinct work, an interpretation of what might have occurred—a re-creation augmented by insights from scholars in history, art history,

folklore, botany, and anthropology.[5] But the film is also a work of the imagination, a fiction created by one medievalist who tried to fashion each scene, indeed each line, so that the whole would seem authentic to other medievalists.[6] Not only was the dramatic narrative devised within the rubrics of medieval life and medieval thought, but the material world of the middle ages was re-created as authentically as possible.[7]

The Process of Re-creating the Medieval Memory on Film

"Sorceress" opens with a dramatization of the dog's martyrdom, the already old story the peasants told Etienne as they remembered it. In the film the scene takes place in the ninth century, amid costumes and props inspired by depictions in Carolingian manuscripts. The emblem on the dog's tombstone, inscribed in blood by the peasant woman, is a variation of the triskele, an ancient Celtic sign of power, evoking a still more distant past. I chose that sign because the grove ritual, dedicated to a dog, is very likely an example of religious syncretism. From the second century B.C.E. until well into the early centuries of Christianity, Celtic peoples in scattered groups occupied much of Europe, from Turkey to Spain, from Italy to Ireland. Celtic mythology and religion, as exemplified in art and epic literature, was characterized by the worship of animals, which were seen as more fertile, more fleet, and more independent than humans. It is possible that Guinefort, the dog saint, was, in part, a "holdover" from the ancient Celtic past, when certain saints were portrayed in a zooanthropomorphic form.

The close-up shot of the blood-inscribed triskele dissolves into the incised triskele adorning the same rock in the filmic present of the mid-thirteenth century. The camera dollies back to reveal a woman taking baby clothes from the tree next to the rock. This is the woman whom Etienne eventually calls a *vetula* and a sorceress, and whom I have named Elda (in the film she is intimately connected with the elder tree). I imagined that Etienne's text hid a secret meaning. As the text is written, it appears that Etienne thought the *vetula* took people to "worship" the elder tree. But it has been hypothesized that she was really using the elder tree's properties for healing purposes.[8] Perhaps she knew through folkloric transmission and through trial and error what modern science has learned: that the pistil and stamen of the elder, as well as its leaf and bark, have therapeutic properties when gathered at the right time and prepared in the appropriate ways. At any rate, worried mothers sought her out to lead them to the grove and trusted the rituals and offerings she taught them.

Modern research into the placebo effect has taught us that healing techniques are more likely to be effective if people believe they are following propitious, culturally accepted methods. By extension, the rite in the grove, related as it was to the mothers' memories of the greyhound's healing powers, entailed a fixed series of activities that would assuage those responsible for curing the babies. If a baby died despite the mother's having performed the long-sanctioned ritual, the mother would be exonerated of guilt.[9]

To devise the dialogue that Elda would speak when Etienne encounters her picking and preparing her medicaments, I examined the elder bushes at the local botanical gardens. After touching, smelling and even tasting the various parts of the tree, as well as studying its shape and form and reviewing the traditional remedies attributed to it, I tried to imagine what the *vetula* might have known about the elder and how she might have worked with it. I then set about developing the character and envisioning the ambiance in which she might have lived. Learning that the elder was known as a "mother tree" and that a Danish folksong is dedicated to the Elder Mother, or Elda, confirmed my decision to call the *vetula* Elda.

As Elda gathers baby clothes from the elder tree next to the dog's gravestone, Etienne comes into view.[10] He is reading a breviary, oblivious to nature, and of course, oblivious to Elda, who sees him and immediately moves behind a tree that will protect her from his view, should he glance up from his book.

Approaching the village, he passes through a group of women soaking and beating hemp plants that are used for making rope. Not only is this task appropriate to the season, mid-August,[11] but the thrashing of hemp also foreshadows the importance of rope fibers later in the script, when Cecile, the young wife of the imprisoned saboteur, weaves hemp fibers into her skirt. When she visits her husband in his prison tower, he will extract them and make a rope to escape. Her weaving the hemp into her skirt makes the strands of the rope invisible to the guards, intent only on touching her body as they search her. The leitmotif of blindness and insight threads through the script.

Etienne heads for the dwelling of the village curé, an imaginary character whom I created as a slovenly but endearing man in his early sixties. Etienne, as a Dominican, had permission from the church hierarchy to preach, hear confession, and grant absolution, but there was often a wide schism between an educated member of a religious order and a simple parish priest.[12] Etienne, recognizing this schism, tries to ingratiate himself with the leery curé. The subtext in the scene is Etienne's desire to avoid the antagonism which could be directed at him as the intruder. These are the early years of the inquisition when Dominicans were sent out to inquire

about possible heresies, and this village curé was fashioned to be the protector of his flock, all the while trying not to displease any elements of the church or the local count, who was responsible for his support. Etienne's name, marking him as a member of the nobility, makes the curé's position particularly delicate.

Etienne more or less stumbles upon the information about the greyhound saint and the peasants' memories of the events surrounding the dog's martyrdom. The friar was in the region to preach against sorcery, hear confession, and learn about possible heretics. When the curé contends that, "There are no heretics in my parish.... My people are as pious as they are poor," Etienne counters:

Etienne

No doubt you have drawn up the list of suspected heretics as the church council ordered you to do.

Curé

There are no names to list.

Etienne

And intruders? Sometimes they disguise themselves as cobblers or barbers. They would have laymen baptize and women preach. Their poison could destroy the whole church.

Curé

You are the first "intruder" to stop here in many months. I guard my flock from "pious wayfarers."

Charlatans were known to have assumed the monastic habit to gain access to sacred vessels.[13] And the curé's one-upmanship is nearly lost on Etienne, who perseveres, explaining that he has not come to threaten the flock, but only to uncover irregularities so the guilty may repent and be absolved.

Curé

Then you have always been successful getting heretics to "repent."

Etienne

Only once did I fail...

Curé

Yes?

Etienne

After every means of persuasion, I...

Curé

You...

Etienne

I made my recommendation...

Curé

You...

Etienne

The heretic was destroyed.

Curé

Burned?

Etienne

By the secular authorities, of course.

At this point in the film the curé steps back, thereby blocking from Etienne's view a portion of a wall painting of the Massacre of the Innocents, a theme familiar in the paintings that adorned rural Romanesque churches. I hypothesized that here the villagers might have scratched a halo around the head of the dog, which is often depicted at the feet of the murderous henchmen. The curé, wishing to seem accommodating, nevertheless resists Etienne's prodding, for there are secrets to keep from this intruding friar. As Etienne makes himself comfortable in a side chapel, the curé moves toward his housekeeper who has just entered. "That man's got the sight of a bat, whose fierce, unblinking eyes are blind," he tells her in a near whisper.[14]

Creating dialogue for a screenplay set in the distant past demands the probing of unusual resources. Though Etienne's manner of speech can be somewhat intuited from his writings, we have no explicit records of how the peasants spoke. We can, however, infer that their speech contained the metaphors and imagery of daily life, animal and plant imagery, the figurative expressions that occur in folklore.[15] So I turned to orally transmitted fables, remembered by the peasants, to find the language through which the *rustici* could express themselves. As I created the characters, their backstories and motivations, I tried to cast their thoughts in the words of those fables that had also been illustrated in art.[16] The curé's aphorism, comparing Etienne to a bat, derives from such sources. The line establishes the theme of the film: Etienne's passage from blindness to insight, a course wherein he learns something about himself, as well as about the world in which he lives.

Sermons delivered to the unlettered were another source of potential dialogue, for they also contained fables. They could provide not only examples of imagery, but also a model for the sermon Etienne would preach in the village. In the *Tractatus*, Etienne says that he was preaching against superstition and sorcery, but in the script, to focus the plotline, he preaches against heresy. Searching for a sermon that could work cinematically, one that contained animal imagery to amuse the crowd in the marketplace, I found such a sermon in the writings of Jacques de Vitry.[17] It tells of a little bird and a fox with a long red tongue (an analogue for a heretic). The bird hops close to the fox to admire his beautiful tongue, and is gobbled up in one gulp. This apposite fable allows Etienne to use such "props" as fox skins and caged birds, items readily present in a marketplace of the village. The actor who played the role of the Dominican could thus create the "business" that highlights Etienne as the showman that such a preacher must have been. In the English language version, i.e. the original

version of the script, Elda and the peasants use short, simple words. When Etienne uses long Latinate words, the peasants do not understand him. He must rephrase his sentence and use "song" instead of "incantation," for example, or explain the meaning of "divination" as "a craft of the devil."

A major challenge in the making of a film about a long-gone age lies in determining what kinds of gestures the characters will make. Though the gestures are not really part of script writing, knowing them helped me envision the ambiance through which the story would move. To achieve authenticity, I assembled an art-historical research album containing pictures of wall paintings, statuary, and manuscripts by which the actors could familiarize themselves with gestures used during the middle ages. A reproduction of a manuscript illustration in the British Museum helped us block the confessional scene in the medieval manner.[18] In the film, as in the manuscript, the person confessing kneels before the Dominican with no partition to screen one from the other. The actors' gestures, too, replicate those of the figures in the illustration.

The art-historical research album, which also contains models for props and facades, was on the set at all times. The album served as our reference for many of the specific elements of the decor and costumes as well. Before long, the actors got into the spirit of the process and requested visual material to help them re-create authentic prayer positions, correct hand movements for blessings and rituals, and other appropriate body motions.

In the script, Etienne learns in the confessional the information that leads to the development of the subplot, a story about the newly created fish ponds and their effect upon the community. The young peasant woman Cecile reacts to Etienne's sermon about the dangers of "beautiful tongued" heretics by "confessing" that "...the Count is the fox with the red tongue.... Last year he flooded the best field and made a pond for fish."[19] To dramatize the idea of social injustice implicit in the subplot, I created the Artauds, a family whose livelihood was severely impaired by the greedy actions of a local count. In his quest for a cash crop of fish, the Count de Villars flooded fertile fields, depriving the Artauds of land they had traditionally cultivated. Thus, two Artaud men drain the ponds in an act of sabotage.

These new ponds are the ecological underpinning of both the primary and secondary plots of the film. On the one hand they have diminished a family's food supply; on the other, they have altered the natural balance of the region by attracting mosquitoes and other insects common to marshlands. In the heat of August, when the film takes place, swarms of bugs are likely to bite, children are likely to scratch, and infections, which can be treated with correctly prepared portions of the elder tree, are likely.[20] According to Etienne's text, the *vetula* took people to worship the elder tree; thus, we can imagine that the woman used some part of the tree as a healing agent in the treatment of sick children.[21]

Women have been responsible for the health of their children, indeed, of their entire families, throughout history. Until the twentieth century, remedies of mothers, grandmothers, and midwives were remembered and passed down. Although medicinal plants grew in the herbal gardens of monasteries, far more frequently peasants availed themselves of the healing knowledge and remedies of the local wise woman, and in the screenplay, I have made the *vetula* into one of them.

The main conflict in the film is Etienne's reaction to the power that Elda's knowledge of healing gives her.[22] We observe her expertise in the second peasant "memory" dramatized in the script, the memory of the grove healing ritual, old even before it was conveyed to the women in the mid-thirteenth century. As Etienne tells us, women with sick children would seek out the *vetula*. It was she who taught them the ritual they should enact. Etienne's text relates exactly what the peasants told him about this ritual and the *vetula's* role in it. The nocturnal grove scene in "Sorceress" is based on Etienne's description. In the film, just as in the text, a mother seeks out Elda, who leads her to the place where the dog is buried. They make the offerings, pass the naked baby between two tree trunks, call upon the spirits of the woods to take back the sick child and return a healthy one in its place. They lay the baby on the straw and place the candles by the child's head. We have included the menacing wolf, which had been reported to threaten the babies at times, but good judgment precluded our submersing the baby nine times in a river.

Ritual by its very nature enshrines an event in the past by celebrating and commemorating it through fixed gesture, chant, and movement. Some rituals are prescribed in writing. The thirteenth-century peasants in the Dombes retained theirs in their memories. To re-create the healing rite for the screen, we had to reinterpret it through our twentieth-century sensibilities. We had to work with contemporary resources to re-create the past through characters whose presence on the screen would move the spectator to empathize with a mother's pain, a healer's acquiescence, or a churchman's horror.

The crux of the film revolves around the idea that those in positions of power must open their eyes and see in a new way. Etienne is the first to learn this lesson, and later he tries to teach it to the count. The idea for such a plot evolved from my puzzlement over placement of

this account in Etienne's treatise, for he included these events in his section on superstitions, rather than his description of heresy.[23] Why did he not see the actions of the *vetula* as heresy and have her destroyed? He had participated in other judgments that resulted in the burning of heretics. From Etienne's point of view the *vetula* practiced divination; she taught the mothers to invoke the devil; she led the ritual which set up a dog as a saint. Why did he not decide that she should be burned?

It is here that, for cinematic purposes, I had to take a leap of the imagination and create a backstory. What if, in confronting the *vetula*, Etienne de Bourbon met someone who both repelled and fascinated him, a woman his age, with grace and mystery. What if, after condemning this woman to death, he was brought to the discovery of some suppressed secret of his own past that helped him see this woman, and other women of her kind, in a different light? What if he came to realize that he, in his lordly judgments of people, had been guilty of pride, one of the vices he was writing against in his treatise? These are dramatic narrative questions, and the answers that I devised were couched in the language of the middle ages, but were totally imaginary.

As historians and art historians we are always in the role of interpreters as we analyze a text or a visual document. We work within a rubric of insights and intuitions fostered by long immersion in our respective fields. But the questions we pose are shaped by our own times, our own interests, and our own imaginations. It was in this spirit that I set out to write a screenplay based on both the peasants' memories of the martyred dog, and the ritual as it took shape through its generational passage. However, I also sought to fashion a script propelled by a dramatic story, one which, given those particular texts, I believed could have happened.

The rite in the woods gave Etienne ample justification, according to church law, to condemn the *vetula*. If we envision Etienne as a reasonable man, the ritual must have struck him as terrifying, not only because it was dedicated to a dog saint, but also because it put the babies in grave danger. In Etienne's view the *vetula* and the mothers who followed her came close to committing infanticide. Many modern observers would agree.[24] I saw that the dramatic tension of the film could reside in the conflict between Etienne's justifiable fear for the babies' lives and our understanding of the desperate mothers willing to go to all ends to save their children.

In the film, however, Etienne's judgment of Elda is ultimately made on personal grounds, because of something he discovers about himself. The friar's "suppressed" past was an invention, devised for the purposes of plot, for, apart from the fact that Etienne's name reveals that he must have been a nobleman, we know nothing about his family. I invented a backstory and a set of motivations. The inventions, however, were evoked by documents that show what could have been possible in the mid-thirteenth century, although the psychological insights of the twentieth century inevitably informed the process. In a speech that Etienne shouts at Elda, condemning her to be burned, he lets slip that she, the devil-become-woman, has roused lust in his dreams. The writings of Peter the Venerable, along with figures sculpted on the mid-twelfth century capitals at the church at Vézelay and elsewhere, provide graphic examples of this dream imagery.[25] The nude woman with ample breasts and wild flowing hair, for example, personifies *luxuria* or sexual profligacy.[26] The figure is often accompanied by the devil and is presented to the eyes of a victimized monk. This sculpture and text inspired my creation of Etienne's internal conflicts: his repulsion for the acts of infanticide committed by the forest woman, his repressed attraction to her, the interdiction against his acting on that attraction, and his ensuing compulsion to condemn her to death.

During their final explosive confrontation Elda reveals to Etienne the tragedy of her past (when she was a victim of the barbaric custom of first-night rights), and her reconciliation with life.[27] Part of her backstory was inspired by an ethnographic inquiry conducted among the Dombes' most aged by Jean-Claude Schmitt in the late 1970s.[28] They remembered a woman called "la Fanchette Gadin." She lived alone in a hut and gathered watercress and dandelions for food. She cast spells, but never upon those who gave her meat. She went on pilgrimages carrying small change given to her by the parents of sick children who wanted her to pray for their recovery at some sacred site. Poor and solitary, linked to sickness and health, life and death, La Fanchette was the last in a long line of women healers with ties to the grove. The old people's memory of her inspired my creation of Elda. La Fanchette's burial place in the graveyard at Chatillon-sur-Charlaronne was destroyed in 1974, so there are no monuments to her. Nor is there a memorial to any of the other healers who made pilgrimages to, or served at, the site throughout the centuries. But the brilliant work of Jean-Claude Schmitt has brought to light traces of their lives. Perhaps like La Fanchette, many of the others were also women with a special relationship to birth and dying, with a special knowledge of plants and of what we would today call the occult. What the real Etienne de Bourbon surely never fathomed was that after he preached against the dog saint, after extirpating its every aspect, except for the memory of it, even seven hundred years later, a woman such as La Fanchette could be making pilgrimages to the grave site.

The script for "Sorceress" is based on many documents and factual sources: Etienne's Latin text; the Romanesque friezes and capitals illustrating animal fables that were recorded by folklorists centuries later; the biology of the elder plant with its various therapeutic properties; the ethnographic inquiry into the last remaining "healing woman." But the plot of the story as revealed in the film, and especially the conflict and its resolution, are totally fictive. Etienne's recollection of a trauma he had suffered and its relationship to the crime he then committed; his understanding of his own role as perpetrator of an abominable act; his attempts to abrogate the sentence to which he had condemned Elda — those elements are dramatic inventions. However, his decision in the film to syncretize the memory of the faithful dog with a true Christian saint does reflect something of what commonly happened when sacred figures from the Roman or Celtic realm were too powerful to be destroyed or obliterated from people's memories.[29] In the film Etienne orders a chapel to be built at the grove and to contain a statue of a Christian saint with a greyhound dog at his side. Documents contain no trace of such a chapel, though the memories of octogenarians, as well as the stratigraphy of the recent archaeological excavation demonstrate that the site was remembered as special down through the ages.

We know that until modern times healing, especially relating to childbirth and children, was in the hands of women.[30] Little of that tradition was written, but it was handed down orally until modern science intruded. In the middle ages, however, the transmission of remembered folk medicine from mother to daughter was firmly intact, as witnessed by Etienne's text and by the centuries-long survival of certain elements of the healing cult. This long survival is memorialized by the final shot of "Sorceress": Elda, hand-in-hand with the young healing woman of the next generation, goes off to Guinefort's grove. The new healing woman would pass down her memory of the legend well beyond the thirteenth century. We the filmmakers in the twentieth would re-imagine it in cinematic form.

Notes

[1] Schmitt 1979.

[2] The account of this collective memory is contained in the thirteenth-century text by the Dominican friar Etienne de Bourbon, *Tractatus de Diversis Materiis Praedicabilibus*. For a thorough scholarly study of the text in question see Schmitt 1979.

[3] Etienne de Bourbon (c. 1180-1262) wrote the treatise toward the end of his life. Schmitt 1983, p. 11. The section recounting the legend of the adoration of the dog Guinefort and Etienne's supposed extirpation of his cult was first published by the Dominicans (Quétif 1719). It was later published, along with other portions of Etienne's work, in Marche 1877, pp. 325-328. The rituals and practices that grew up around the cult are discussed in Schmitt 1983, pp. 39-87.

[4] "Sorceress" had its world premiere screening at the Festival of Festivals in Toronto in 1987. The story is by Pamela Berger (inspired by the text of Etienne de Bourbon); screenplay by Pamela Berger (who wrote the original script in English) and Suzanne Schiffman; produced by Pamela Berger, Annie Lebovici, and George Reinhart; directed by Suzanne Schiffman. Berger worked on the script with Schiffman who cut several of the original scenes and gave other directorial input. The script was translated into French for the French version. Close-ups and medium shots were filmed in both French and English. Both versions are available on video from Mystic FireVideo (212-941-0999 for libraries; or 1-800-292-9001 for individuals).

[5] The film was partially funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities, whose support enabled the board of scholars to participate in the development process. A thesis was written on the film: Souche 1991.

[6] All historical narrative is necessarily replete with elements of interpretation interspersed with established and inferred facts. See White 1978, pp. 51-80.

[7] The production designer, Bernard Vézat, who directed the making of the sets, costumes and props, adhered to the strictest guidelines of authenticity. He rightfully determined that an isolated village in southeastern France would not have architectural or sculptural elements reflective of Gothic art, the mid-thirteenth century style that was far more prevalent in the cities than in the countryside.

[8] Schmitt 1983, p. 68. See also Grieve 1931, pp. 265-276; and Wade 1977, p. 219.

[9] I thank Professor Irv Zola, a medical sociologist, for his insights.

[10] Etienne's text reveals that he was preaching against sorcery and hearing confessions in the diocese of Lyon when he learned of the peasants' adoration of Guinefort. For a thorough analysis of the text to determine the exact cult site and its surrounding region, see Schmitt 1983.

[11] The hot days of August are called the canicular days (the dog days), pertaining to the Dog Star. The rising of the star Sirius in the constellation Canus Major opens the hot season when epidemics are rampant. It was during this time that the dog saint would be invoked to protect sick babies.

[12] The issue of the village curé as an intermediary between the church hierarchy and the peasant culture is discussed in Manselli 1975. See also Boglioni 1979, pp. 13-37. For conditions in the French rural parishes in the mid-thirteenth century see O'Sullivan 1964.

[13] For a fable recounting the theft of vessels see the thirteenth-century exemplum of Jacques de Vitry 1967, pp. 18 and 153, exemplum XLVI.

[14] Though it is not explicit in this film, a small percentage of thirteenth-century parish priests were married, and many others had lifelong relationships with one woman. Villages were often too poor to support a priest, so a peasant woman with land to work sometimes served as the priest's only real means of support.

[15] The medieval texts containing the exempla (tales in the vernacular and incorporated into sermons) are among our primary sources for peasant dialogue. They were addressed specifically to the illiterate and include simple, fable-like metaphors that reveal the mental habits of thirteenth-century agriculturists.

[16] Several fables are woven into the dialogues of "Sorceress": The Bat with Blind, Unblinking Eyes; The Wolf and the Lamb; The Stag Caught in the Bushes.

[17] For this exemplum see Vitry 1967, p. 142.

[18] British Library, Ms. Stowe 17, fol. 191. See Gies 1978, p. 90.

[19] Bérard 1982, pp. 44-59.

[20] Wade 1977, p. 219; and Grieve 1931, pp. 265-276. Folklore scholarship has long recorded the tradition that various parts of the elder tree possess healing properties. See Sébillot 1906, pp. 134, 279, 369, 381, 387, 390, 403, 413, 416, 419, 421. The elder tree is connected with magic.

[21] For the making of medicines and salves from various parts of the elder tree and the fungi that grow on it see Grieve 1931, pp. 267-276.

[22] For the attitude of the church toward healing in the middle ages see Dawson 1977, pp. 148-149.

[23] Schmitt 1983, pp. 14-15.

[24] For what Etienne would have understood as infanticide see Coleman 1976, pp. 47-70, esp. pp. 57, 59-60.

[25] For the dreams of medieval monks as expressed in their writings and the art work of the time see Mâle 1978, pp. 364-376.

[26] For a discussion of the origins of the iconographic history of the image of Luxuria (sexual sin personified), see Berger 1985, pp. 37-47.

[27] The custom of first-night rights, according to which the lord of the manor could force a bride to spend her wedding night with him, was known in certain areas in the middle ages.

[28] Schmitt 1983, pp. 141-143.

[29] Berger 1985.

[30] Much of this healing work was so taken for granted that little of it has been recorded in historical documents. See Hughes 1943 and Hurd-Mead 1938.

Abbreviations

Berard 1982
Berard, Laurence. *Terre et Eaux en Dombes*. Lyon, 1982.

Berger 1985
Berger, Pamela. *The Goddess Obscured*. Boston, 1985.

Boglioni 1979
Boglioni, P. "La culture populaire au Moyen Age," *La culture populaire au Moyen Age*. Montréal, 1979, pp. 13-37.

Coleman 1976
Coleman, Emily. "Infanticide in the Early Middle Ages," *Women in Medieval Society*. Philadelphia, 1976.

Dawson 1977
Dawson, George Gordon. *Healing: Pagan and Christian*. London, 1977.

Gies 1978
Gies, F. and J. *Women in the Middle Ages*. New York, 1978.

Grieve 1931
Grieve, Maud. *A Modern Herbal*. London, 1931.

Hughes 1943
Hughes, Muriel Joy. *Women Healers in Medieval Life and Literature*. New York, 1943.

Hurd-Mead 1938
Hurd-Mead, Kate Campbell. *A History of Women in Medicine*. Haddam, CT, 1938.

Mâle 1978
Mâle, Emile. *Religious Art in France in the Twelfth Century*. Princeton, 1978.

Manselli 1975
Manselli, R. *La religion populaire au Moyen Age, Problèmes de méthode et d'histoire*. Montréal, 1975.

Marche 1877
Marche, A. Lecoy de la. *Anecdotes historiques, légendes et apologues tires du recueil inédit d'Etienne de Bourbon*. Paris, 1877.

O'Sullivan 1964
O'Sullivan, Jeremiah F., ed. *The Register of Eudes of Rouen*. New York, 1964.

Quétif 1719
Quétif, J. and J. Echard. *Scriptores ordinis praedicatorum*. Paris, 1719-1721.

Schmitt 1979
Schmitt, Jean-Claude. *Le saint levrier*. Paris, 1979.

Schmitt 1983
Schmitt, Jean-Claude. *The Holy Greyhound*. Cambridge, 1983.

Sébillot 1906
Sébillot, Paul. *Le folk-lore de France*. Vol. III. Paris, 1906.

Souche 1991
Souche, Bernard. "La représentation filmique du XIIIe siècle à travers 'Le Moine et La Sorcière,'" Thesis: Université de Saint-Etienne, U.F.R. de Lettres, Langues et Sciences Humaines, 1991.

Vitry 1967
Vitry, Jacques de. *The Exemplar or Illustrative Stories from the Sermones Vulgares of Jacques de Vitry*. Ed. T.F. Crane. Nendeln, Liechtenstein, 1967.

Wade 1977
Wade, A., and J.E. Reynolds. *Martindale, The Extra Pharmacopoeia*. London, 1977.

White 1985
White, Hayden. "Interpretation in History," *Tropics of Discourse, Essays in Cultural Criticism*. Baltimore, 1985, pp. 51-80.

List of Objects in the Exhibition

1
Casket
Rhineland or Meuse, 12th century
components (19th century assemblage)
gilded silver with inset gems
over wood
H: 8 in. W: 16 in. D: 5 in.
Metropolitan Museum of Art,
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
acc. no. 17.190.404

2
Corinthian Capital
Rome, 350-470
marble
H: 9 5/8 in. W: 11 in.
Davis Museum and Cultural Center,
Wellesley College, Eliza Newkirk
Rogers (Class of 1900) Fund
acc. no. 1949.28.1

3
Corinthian Capital
Provence or Northern Italy,
mid-12th century
limestone
H: 12 3/4 in. W: 14 in.
Davis Museum and Cultural Center,
Wellesley College, Eliza Newkirk
Rogers (Class of 1900) Fund
acc. no. 1949.31.1

4
Portrait of the Evangelist Luke
Byzantium, early 13th century
tempera and gold on vellum
H: 8 1/2 in. W: 6 1/4 in.
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston,
Arthur Mason Knapp Fund
acc. no. 1919.118

5
Portrait of St. Gregory
Flanders, late 10th century
tempera on vellum
H: 13 3/8 in. W: 8 5/8 in.
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston,
William F. Warden Fund
acc. no. 49.492

6
Herakles Wrestling the Nemean Lion
Rome, c. 90 A.D.
stone
H: 7 1/2 in.
Nuffler Foundation Collection

7
David Slaying the Lion
Constantinople, 613-629/30 A.D.
silver
Diam. 5 1/2 in.
Metropolitan Museum of Art,
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan 1917
acc. no. 17.190.395

8
Capital with Scenes from the
Life of Samson
Avignon, 12th century
marble
H: 12 1/2 in. W: 10 1/2 in.
Fogg Art Museum,
Harvard University Art Museums,
Gift of Meta and Paul J. Sachs
acc. no. 1922.132

9
Cameo of Herakles and the Nemean Lion
Sicily, 1220-1240
sardonyx
H: 2 in. W: 1 5/8 in.
Dumbarton Oaks Collection
acc. no. 62.38

10
Plaque with the Virtue Fortitude
Spain, early 16th century
alabaster
H: 25 3/4 in. W: 12 3/4 in.
D: 3 15/16 in.
Worcester Art Museum,
Worcester, MA.
acc. no. 1919.305

11
Leaf from Valerius Maximus, Factorum
et dictorum memorabilium
attributed to Perrin Remiet
Paris, c. 1390
tempera and gold on vellum
H: 15 5/16 in. W: 11 5/8 in.
Metropolitan Museum of Art,
Bequest of Gwynne M. Andrews,
1931 acc. no. 31.134.8

12
Reliquary Pendant of St. Zacharias
Constantinople, 6th century
gold
H: 1 1/2 in. W: 1 in.
Dumbarton Oaks Collection
acc. no. 57.53

13
Reliquary Pendant of St. Sergius
Constantinople, 11th century
gold
H: 2 in. W: 1 1/4 in.
Dumbarton Oaks Collection
acc. no. 53.19

14
Billom Chasse
Limoges, c. 1240-1260
enamel and gilding on copper over
wood
H: 11 in. W: 17 in.
Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore
acc. no. 44.247

15
Plaque from a Reliquary Chasse:
The Crucifixion and Martyrdom
of St. Thomas Becket
Attributed to Master G. Alpais
and workshop
Limoges, c. 1220-1225
enamel and gilding on copper
H: 6 5/8 in. W: 11 1/4 in.
Cleveland Museum of Art,
Purchase from the J. H. Wade Fund
acc. no. 51.449

16
Reliquary Chasse of St. Thomas Becket
Canterbury, c. 1200-1207
gilding on copper
H: 7 in. W: 4 1/2 in. L: 10 in.
Metropolitan Museum of Art,
The Cloisters Collection, 1980
acc. no. 1980.417

17
Reliquary Pendant of St. Thomas Becket
England, c. 1174-1176
gold
L: 2 in. W: 1 1/4 in. D: 5/10 in.
Metropolitan Museum of Art,
Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1963
acc. no. 63.160

18
Relief of St. John the Baptist's Head
Nottingham, 15th century
alabaster with polychrome
H: 10 1/8 in. W: 6 3/4 in.
D: 1 3/4 in.
Neil and Sharon Phillips/Phillips
Family Collection

19
Arm Reliquary of St. Valentine
Switzerland, late 14th century
gilding on silver
H: 20 1/4 in. W: 4 1/8 in.
Metropolitan Museum of Art,
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan
acc. no. 17.190.351

20
Double-Arm Reliquary Cross
Germany or Italy, late 12th century
gold
H: 4 1/2 in. W: 3 in.
Cleveland Museum of Art,
Purchase from the J. H. Wade Fund
acc. no. 83.208

21
Pilgrim's Ampulla
Syria-Palestine, 6th century
terracotta
H: 2 3/4 in. W: 2 1/4 in.
Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore
acc. no. 48.2521

22
Pilgrim's Ampulla
Syria-Palestine, 6th century
tin-lead
H: 2 1/2 in. W: 1 7/8 in.
Detroit Institute of Arts,
City of Detroit Purchase
acc. no. 26.154

23
St. Agnes
Tirol, c. 1450
watercolor on paper
H: 2 1/2 in. W: 1 5/8 in.
Illuminations, Chicago

24
Reliquary Cross
Bavaria, 19th century
wood and ivory
H: 10 in. W: 4 in. D: 1 1/4 in.
Private Collection

25
St. Giles the Hermit
Master of the Beatus of San Andreas
de Arroyo
Castile, c. 1225
tempera on vellum
H: 3 5/16 in. W: 2 1/2 in.
Illuminations, Chicago

26
Mass of Saint Gregory
Simon Marmion, active 1449-1489
France, c. 1460-1465
oil and gold leaf on panel
H: 17 3/4 in. W: 11 9/16 in.
Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto,
Purchase 1979

27
Mass of Saint Gregory
Israhel van Meckenem, c. 1450-1503
Germany, c. 1480
engraving on paper
H: 18 3/8 in. W: 5 11/16 in.
Fogg Art Museum,
Harvard University Art Museums,
William M. Prichard Fund
acc. no. M 655

28
Mass of Saint Gregory
Albrecht Dürer, 1471-1528
Germany, 1511
woodcut on paper
H: 12 in. W: 8 in.
National Gallery of Art,
Rosenwald Collection
acc. no. 1943.3673

29
Censer
N. Italy or Alps,
12th - early 13th century
latten
H: 6 3/4 in. W: 5 1/8 in.
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston,
H.E. Bolles Fund
acc. no. 67.292

30
Chalice
Northern Europe, mid-14th century
gilding on silver
H: 6 3/8 in. W: 4 1/4 in.
Sharon and Neil Phillips/Phillips
Family Collection

31
Chalice
Flanders, 15th century
gilding and enamel on silver
H: 6 1/4 in. W: 5 in.
Sharon and Neil Phillips/Phillips
Family Collection

32
Pyx
Limoges, 13th century
enamel, gilding, and garnet
insets on copper
H: 3 3/4 in. W: 3 1/4 in.
Sharon and Neil Phillips/Phillips
Family Collection

33
Canonis Missae Expositio
Gabriel Biel, c. 1410-1495
Lyon, 1528
printed on paper
H: 11 1/2 in. W: 7 1/4 in.
Burns Library, Boston College
16FB43, fol.1v

34
Mass of Saint Gregory
Lectionary of the Epistles
Spain, Guadalupe, October 6, 1506
manuscript on vellum
H: 14 3/4 in. W: 10 5/8 in.
Houghton Library, Harvard
University, Gift of Philip Hofer,
Class of '21, fMS Typ 199

35
Mass of Saint Gregory
Leaf from an Antiphonary
Maestro dei Lattanzio Riccardiano
Florence, 1450-1500
tempera and gold leaf on parchment
H: 22 in. W: 15 in.
Metropolitan Museum of Art,
Bequest of Louis L. Lorillard, 1896
acc. no. 96.32.8

36
Rosary Bead with Mass of Saint Gregory
South Netherlands, c. 1500-1510
boxwood
H: 1 5/8 in.
Smith College Museum of Art,
Northampton, Mass.
acc. no. 1991:23

37
Mass of St. Gregory
Hours of the Virgin
England, c. 1440
manuscript on vellum
H: 8 5/8 in. W: 5 5/8 in.
The Pierpont Morgan Library
MS Glazier 9

38
Mass of Saint Gregory
Jean Colombe c. 1435-1498
Bourges, c. 1485
gold and tempera on vellum
H: 6 5/8 in. W: 4 3/4 in.
Illuminations, Chicago

39
Haggadah Leaf
Iberian peninsula or Constantinople,
c. 1515
printed on paper
H: 7 3/8 in. W: 4 3/4 in.
Jewish Theological Seminary,
New York, MIC 5637

40
Abudarham
Fez, 1516
printed on paper
H: 11 1/2 in. W: 8 3/4 in. D: 2 in.
Jewish Theological Seminary,
New York
RB 1729:3

41
Bible
Scribe: Abraham Calif
Toledo,1492 and
Constantinople, 1497
manuscript on vellum
H: 11 in. W: 8 3/4 in. D: 3 1/4 in.
Jewish Theological Seminary,
New York
MS L6

42
Poetry Fragment
Solomon ibn Gabirol
12th century
manuscript on paper
H: 9 3/4 in. W: 8 1/2 in.
Jewish Theological Seminary,
New York
ENA 326, fol. 5a

43
Mi-Kamokha
Judah Halevi
Mantua, 1557
printed on paper
H: 6 1/2 in. W: 8 3/4 in. D: 3/8 in.
Jewish Theological Seminary,
New York
RB 107:11

44
Fortalitium Fidei
Alfonso de Espina
Lyon, c. 1510-1520
printed on paper
H: 7 1/2 in. W: 5 1/2 in. D: 1 1/4 in.
Private Collection

45
Bible
Lisbon, c.1496 and
central Italy, c. 1504
manuscript on vellum
H: 12 5/8 in. W: 9 7/9 in.
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
MS Hebr. 15

46
Ritual Murder Charges Against Jews
Madrid, 1772
printed on paper
H: 8 1/2 in. W: 6 1/2 in. D: 3/4 in.
Private Collection

47
Siddur
(Prayer Book for Daily Use and Festivals)
Spain, 15th century
manuscript on vellum
H: 7 in. W: 5 1/2 in. D: 1 1/4 in.
Jewish Theological Seminary,
New York
MS 4366

48
Maḥzor (Festival Prayer Book)
Venice, 1581-1583
printed on paper
H: 6 1/2 in. W: 4 1/4 in. D: 1 1/2 in.
Jewish Theological Seminary,
New York
MIC 5705

49
Bible
Ferrara, 1553
printed on paper
H: 11 1/2 in. W: 8 1/2 in. D: 2 in.
Jewish Theological Seminary,
New York
RB 1803:23

50
Leaf from the Book of Ezekiel
Germany(?), 13th-14th century
manuscript on vellum
H: 14 1/8 in. W: 16 7/8 in.
Steven and Terri Levin

51
Prose Lancelot
Northeastern France, 1300-1320
manuscript on vellum
H: 13 5/8 in. W: 10 in.
The Pierpont Morgan Library,
New York
MS 806

52
Leaf of a Writing Tablet
France, 14th century
ivory
H: 4-5/8 in. W: 3 1/16 in.
Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift
of Ann Payne Blumenthal, 1938
acc. no. 38.108

53
Ivory Mirror Case with God of Love
in Tree and Lovers
England or Germany, 1340-1350
ivory
Diam: 4 3/16 in.
Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore
acc. no. 71.193

54
Casket with Scenes from the
Chastelaine de Vergi
France, 14th century
ivory
H: 4 3/4 in. W: 9 1/2 in.
D: 5 7/8 in.
Metropolitan Museum of Art,
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917
acc. no. 17.190.180

55
Arthur and Guenevere Watch the
Tournament at Camelot on Christmas
Dunois Master (Jean Haincelin?)
Paris, c. 1444
tempera on vellum
H: 3 5/8 in. W: 3 5/8 in.
Sharon and Neil Phillips/Phillips
Family Collection

56
Tournament at Camelot: Arthur's
Forces Prevailing over Baudemagus's
Dunois Master (Jean Haincelin?)
Paris, c. 1444
tempera on vellum
H: 3 5/8 in. W: 3 5/8 in.
Sharon and Neil Phillips/Phillips
Family Collection

57
Hector Imprisoned
Dunois Master (Jean Haincelin?)
Paris, c. 1444
tempera on vellum
H: 3 5/8 in. W: 3 5/8 in.
Sharon and Neil Phillips/Phillips Family Collection

58
Lancelot Rescuing Guenevere
Dunois Master (Jean Haincelin?)
Paris, c. 1444
tempera on vellum
H: 3 5/8 in. W: 3 5/8 in.
Sharon and Neil Phillips/Phillips Family Collection

59
Lancelot Slays Dragon
Dunois Master (Jean Haincelin?)
Paris, c. 1444
tempera on vellum
H: 3 5/8 in. W: 3 5/8 in.
Sharon and Neil Phillips/Phillips Family Collection

60
Attack at Bridge: Lancelot in an Encounter with Four Knights
Dunois Master (Jean Haincelin?)
Paris, c. 1444
tempera on vellum
H: 3 5/8 in. W: 3 5/8 in.
Sharon and Neil Phillips/Phillips Family Collection

61
Mordred before King Arthur
Dunois Master (Jean Haincelin?)
Paris, c. 1444
tempera on vellum
H: 3 5/8 in. W: 3 5/8 in.
Sharon and Neil Phillips/Phillips Family Collection

61a
Lancelot Riding Horse
Dunois Master (Jean Haincelin?)
Paris, c. 1444
tempera on vellum
H: 3 5/8 in. W: 3 5/8 in.
Illuminations, Chicago

62
Les Noms, Armes et Blasons des Chevaliers et Compaignons de la Table Ronde
France, c. 1500
manuscript on vellum
H: 10 5/8 in. W: 7 3/8 in.
The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York
MS 16

63
Escutcheon with Armorial Device
Italy, late 14th or early 15th century
champlevé enamel, silvering, and gilding on copper
H: 4 1/8 in. W: 3 3/16 in.
Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers fund, 1904
acc. no. 04.3.299

64
Badge with Armorial Device
Spain, 14th century
champlevé enamel and gilding on copper
H: 1 13/16 in. W: 1 3/8 in. D: 1 7/16 in.
Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1904
acc. no. 04.3.448

65
Escutcheon with Armorial Device
Italy, late 14th or early 15th century
champlevé enamel and gilding on copper
H: 5 1/16 in. W: 4 3/4 in.
Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1904
acc. no. 04.3.298

66
Badge with Armorial Device
Spain(?), 15th century
champlevé enamel and gilding on copper
H: 1 11/16 in. W: 1 1/8 in.
Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1904
acc. no. 04.3.377

67
Escutcheon with Armorial Device
Florence, early 15th century
champlevé enamel and gilding on copper
H: 4 5/16 in. W: 3 7/16 in.
Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of David G. Alexander, 1984
acc. no. 1984.26a

68
Badge with Arms of the Counts of St. Pol
France, 2nd half of 14th century
champlevé enamel and gilding on copper
H: 1 1/2 in. W: 7/8 in.
Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1904
acc. no. 04.3.370

69
Armorial
Royal Arms of England attributed to Henry II
England, early 16th century
manuscript on paper
H: 11 3/4 in. W: 7 7/8 in.
The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York
MA 960

70
Portrait of a Boy with a Gothic Cottage
America, c. 1850–1860
oil on canvas
H: 40 in. W: 30 in.
Old Sturbridge Village, Sturbridge, Mass.
acc. no. 20.1.31

71
Cruet Holder or "Magic Castor"
Roswell Gleason, 1799–1871
Boston, 1857
silverplate with cut glass
H: 23 in. W: 7 in.
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Marion E. Davis Fund
acc. no. 1984.23

72
Textile with Gothic Window Pattern
England, c. 1840
chintz fabric
H: 25 1/4 in. W: 26 in.
Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Mass.
acc. no. 122.162

73
Gothic Bottle
America, c. 1850–1860
lime soda glass
H: 8 3/4 in. W: 2 3/8 in.
Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Mass.
acc. no. 103.095

74a-c
Gothic Covered Sugar Bowls
Boston and Sandwich Glass Co.
Boston, c. 1835-1845
glass
H: 5 1/2 in. W: 4 3/4 in.
New Haven Colony Historical Society
acc. nos. 1970-221, 222, 225

74d
Gothic Covered Sugar Bowl
Boston and Sandwich Glass Co.
Boston, c. 1835-1845
pressed amethyst glass
H: 5 1/2 in. W: 4 3/4 in.
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Gift of Kenneth and Mary Jane Wakefield in memory of Ruth Graves Wakefield
acc. no. 1979.716

75
Gothic Creamer
Boston and Sandwich Glass Co.
Boston, c. 1835-1845
pressed blue glass
H: 4-1/2 in.
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Gift of Kenneth and Mary Jane Wakefield in memory of Ruth Graves Wakefield
acc. no. 1979.677

76
Gothic Cast Iron Stove
Jagger, Treadwell, and Perry
New York, 1846
cast iron
H: 25 5/8 in. W: 20 1/2 in.
D: 15 1/2 in.
Old Sturbridge Village,
Sturbridge, Mass.
acc. no. 2.77.68

77
Gothic Covered Jar
Lyman, Fenton, and Co.
Bennington, Vermont, c. 1845-1855
pottery
H: 10 1/2 in. W: 9 1/2 in.
Bennington Museum, Bennington
acc. no. 66.1199

78
King Arthur and Queen Guenevere Cooking
Sir John Tenniel, 1820-1914
England, 19th century
graphite on paper
H: 3 7/8 in. W: 2 11/16 in.
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston,
John H. and E. A. Payne Fund
acc. no. 1955.1471

79
Gothic Goblet
America, 19th century
glass
H: 6 in. D: 3 3/16 in. Top: 3 in.
Bennington Museum, Bennington, acc. no. 61.1/210

80
Relief Molded Molasses Jug
America, 19th century
pottery
H: 7 1/8 in. W: 3 3/4 in.
Base: 2 5/8 in.
Bennington Museum, Bennington
acc. no. 57.56

81
Relief Molded Molasses Jug
Charles Meigh
Hamley, England, 19th century
stoneware and pewter
H: 9 in. D: 2 1/4 in.
Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Mass.
acc. no. 105.458

82
Stereoview Photograph of Bigelow's Chapel
America, 19th century
silver gelatin print
H: 3 1/2 in. W: 7 in.
Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, Boston, Mass.
acc. no. 146663-B

83a-c
Mantle Garniture with Image of Bigelow's Chapel
William F. Shaw
Boston, c. 1848-1851
glass, marble, and gilded metal
H: 17 3/4 in. W: 17 in. D. 3 3/4 in. (center)
H: 15 3/8 in. W: 7 3/4 in. D: 3 3/4 in. (sides)
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Gift of the Wunsch Americana Foundation
acc. no. 1981.411-413

84
Architectural Drawing of a Church
James H. Dakin
America, 19th century
ink on paper
H: 22 1/2 in. W: 28 in.
New Orleans Public Library, New Orleans

85
Mohamet and Saladin or the Battle for Palestine Board Game
W. and S.B. Ives Co.
Salem, 1846
cardboard and paper
H: 13 3/4 in. W: 11 1/2 in.
Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Mass.
acc. no. 131.803

86
Pope and Pagan or the Siege of the Stronghold of Satan Board Game
W. and S.B. Ives Co.
Salem, 1844
cardboard and paper
H: 13 3/4 in. W: 11 1/2 in.
Peabody Essex Museum,
Salem, Mass., acc. no. 4216.2

87
King Sigured the Crusader
Edward Burne Jones, 1833-1898
England, 1862
wood engraving on paper
H: 6 in. W: 4 1/2 in.
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston,
J. H. and E.A. Payne Fund
acc. no. 1955.1471

88-90
"Skræling Artifacts" with Nineteenth-Century Identification Card
collected in Hampton, New Hampshire, 19th century
stone
H: 1 1/2 in. W: 2 1/4 in. L: 11 1/2 in.
H: 2 5/8 in. W: 2 3/4 in. L: 13 1/8 in.
Peabody Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
acc. no. 45-16-10/27657 and 45-16-10/27658

91
Photo of the Replica Viking Ship Displayed at the Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893
Charles Dudly Arnold
America, 1893
platinum print
H: 21 in. W: 25 in.
Columbia University, New York City, Division of Drawings and Archives, Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library, C.D. Arnold Photographs
acc. no. 39

ויהי אחרי מות ד׳ דסמ׳ וסימנהון בלשון תרגום אבא רעיא שבשא סלקא ופירוש ויהי אחרי מות אברהם ויהי אחרי
מות משה ויהי אחרי מות יהושע ויהי אחרי מות שאול ס״ת ס משרת משה ב׳ וסימן ויען יהושע בן נון ויהי אחרי מות משה עבד ה׳ ס

וַיְהִי אַחֲרֵי מוֹת מֹשֶׁה עֶבֶד יְהוָה וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל יְהוֹשֻׁעַ
בִּן נוּן מְשָׁרֵת מֹשֶׁה לֵאמֹר מֹשֶׁה עַבְדִּי מֵת וְעַתָּה קוּם
עֲבֹר אֶת הַיַּרְדֵּן הַזֶּה אַתָּה וְכָל הָעָם הַזֶּה אֶל הָאָרֶץ
אֲשֶׁר אָנֹכִי נֹתֵן לָהֶם לִבְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל כָּל מָקוֹם אֲשֶׁר
תִּדְרֹךְ כַּף רַגְלְכֶם בּוֹ לָכֶם נְתַתִּיו כַּאֲשֶׁר דִּבַּרְתִּי אֶל
מֹשֶׁה מִהַמִּדְבָּר וְהַלְּבָנוֹן הַזֶּה וְעַד הַנָּהָר הַגָּדוֹל נְהַר
פְּרָת כֹּל אֶרֶץ הַחִתִּים וְעַד הַיָּם הַגָּדוֹל מְבוֹא הַשָּׁמֶשׁ
יִהְיֶה גְּבוּלְכֶם לֹא יִתְיַצֵּב אִישׁ לְפָנֶיךָ כֹּל יְמֵי חַיֶּיךָ
כַּאֲשֶׁר הָיִיתִי עִם מֹשֶׁה אֶהְיֶה עִמָּךְ לֹא אַרְפְּךָ וְלֹא
אֶעֶזְבֶךָּ חֲזַק וֶאֱמָץ כִּי אַתָּה תַּנְחִיל אֶת הָעָם הַזֶּה אֵת
הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר נִשְׁבַּעְתִּי לַאֲבוֹתָם לָתֵת לָהֶם רַק חֲזַק
וֶאֱמָץ מְאֹד לִשְׁמֹר לַעֲשׂוֹת כְּכָל הַתּוֹרָה אֲשֶׁר צִוְּךָ
מֹשֶׁה עַבְדִּי אַל תָּסׇר מִמֶּנּוּ יָמִין וּשְׂמֹאל לְמַעַן
תַּשְׂכִּיל בְּכֹל אֲשֶׁר תֵּלֵךְ לֹא יָמִישׁ סֵפֶר הַתּוֹרָה
הַזֶּה מִפִּיךָ וְהָגִיתָ בּוֹ יוֹמָם וָלַיְלָה לְמַעַן תִּשְׁמֹר
לַעֲשׂוֹת כְּכֹל הַכָּתוּב בּוֹ כִּי אָז תַּצְלִיחַ אֶת דְּרָכֶךָ

תדרך ה׳ וחב׳ וסימנהון כל המקום אשר תדרך כף רגלכם דמ״ש תור׳ וחב׳ דיהושע ואתה על כמותם תדרך אתה תדרך זית ולא
תסוך שמן על שחל ופתן תדרך ס״ת ס מבט דסב׳ ממה ו וסימנהון בלע תרנו אפרש בעיא דיהושע יפתח ולקט באריאל ופידה
והריס סמנו בקמץ ואם בהמה אשר יקריבו אל תבוד סמנו מין אדם לומסמנו בן אובת וילקט סמנו לקוטית שדה וילך בכל דרך אסא אביו ס״ת